

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

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THE
ANDOVER REVIEW:
A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. IV.—OCTOBER, 1885.—No. XXII.

THE "THÉODICÉE" OF LEIBNITZ.

I.

THE "Théodicée" of Leibnitz consists of a number of essays bearing upon the same general subject, the vindication of God in view of the evil in the world. The work was published in the year 1710. It was written at the request of the queen of Prussia, Sophie Charlotte, who had been the pupil of Leibnitz, and with whom he had frequently conversed concerning the philosophical and theological doubts expressed by Bayle in his famous "Dictionnaire Historique et Critique." The queen desired Leibnitz to reply to these objections and to reconcile the conflict between religion and reason, and the "Théodicée" was accordingly written. The several writings comprised under this general title are: First, the *Préface*, in the course of which Leibnitz calls attention to the principal points under discussion, and states the occasion of his writing upon this subject. Next follows the preliminary essay, — directed against the doctrine of Bayle that the teachings of faith were incompatible with those of reason, — entitled, *Discours de la Conformité de la Foi avec la Raison*. Following the "Discours" are the writings which constitute the main body of the treatise, the *Essais sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'Homme et l'Origine du Mal*. These are divided into three parts. The first contains a statement of the views of Leibnitz upon the whole subject under discussion. The second and third parts consist of a further exposition of these views, mainly in the form of replies to the objections of the skeptic Bayle against the application of reason to the truths of revealed religion.

There is appended an abridgment of the controversy, in which the arguments and counter-arguments are reduced to syllogistic form. Then follow two critical essays, the first upon the work of

Hobbes on "Freedom, Necessity, and Chance," the second upon Archbishop King's book on "The Origin of Evil." Last is a résumé of the whole treatise, bearing the title: *Causa Dei asserta per justitiam ejus cum cæteris ejus perfectionibus cunctisque actionibus conciliatam*.

Two principles, mainly, control the reasonings of Leibnitz in these essays. These are the Law of Contradiction, more strictly of Non-Contradiction, and the Law of Sufficient or Determinant Reason, — by Leibnitz himself first enunciated as a primary principle or law of thought. "In demonstration," he says, in the tract "De Scientia Universali," "I use two principles, one of which is: Whatever implies contradiction is false; the other: A reason may be rendered for every truth which is not immediate, or an identical proposition." The latter principle is brought into especial prominence in the "Théodicée" itself, where it is identified with the *principium melioris*; the former appears conspicuously in the preliminary arguments by which faith and reason are shown not to be in necessary conflict.

The "Théodicée" is properly a reply to the skeptical objections of Bayle against the possibility of a rational interpretation of the universe when considered as the object of divine creation and control. Those objections are substantially the following:—

The world as proceeding from God must be the best possible. But the world as we know it contains evil — both physical and moral. God cannot be the author of evil. Again: In creation all is predetermined; but action to be moral must be free. If all human action is predetermined by God in creation the distinction of good and evil therein is effaced, and if the distinction is allowed to exist at all it must be in the predetermining activity of God himself. God, then, must be the author of evil. But to hold that God wills the evil is to deny the divine holiness. Did God then find himself under the necessity of bringing into existence the evil which He did not choose? To think so would be to subject the Infinite Will to a foreign power, or to blind necessity. But granting that God did not himself create the evil that is in the world, did He allow it to exist? If He allowed its existence because He could not prevent it, that would imply restriction upon his power. If He permitted although He might have prevented it, that would seem to impugn his goodness.

Sin and suffering present themselves as facts in a world of God's creation. When we reason upon these facts in the light of our necessary ideas of the Divine Being we are immediately in-

volved in insuperable difficulties. From this "nest of contradictions" Bayle could see but one way of escape. It was by denying the competency of reason to the task it had undertaken. These are problems which lie outside its sphere. To attempt the solution of them is, therefore, to fall into inevitable confusion. But the satisfaction which reason cannot give revelation may impart. The defeat of reason is the triumph of faith. Unquestioning acceptance of the inscrutable will of God is the lesson we are to learn. A theodicy is impossible. Mental repose is found in faith alone.

But faith is, implicitly, optimism, and what lies wrapped up in the folds of feeling, reason may render explicit in the form of doctrine. The natural optimism of the human heart which instinctively wills the best and believes it to be supreme, the optimism which theism contains by necessary implication, and which the Christian revelation presents to the faith of mankind as having its actual realization in the kingdom of Redemption, Leibnitz would, accordingly, establish as a philosophical doctrine. He believed that he had found a basis for it in his tenet of "preëstablished harmony" with its related truths. From this point of view we could *know* the truth which otherwise we must be content merely to *believe*. "For if we were able to comprehend the universal harmony we should *see* that what we are disposed to find fault with is bound up with the plan most worthy to be chosen; in a word, we should *see* and not merely believe that what God has done is the best."¹ It is necessary, however, to add the explanation which Leibnitz gives of the sense in which he uses the terms "seeing" and "believing." Seeing is knowledge *a priori*, through the knowledge of the causes of anything. Believing is knowledge *a posteriori*, through the knowledge of effects. Each is a form of knowledge, and the one may be as certain as the other. The words of St. Paul here find application: "We walk by faith, not by sight." For from our knowledge that God is infinite in wisdom we judge that the evils which we experience ought to be permitted, and we judge so *a posteriori*, that is to say, because they exist. In the sense, then, in which Leibnitz uses the terms, seeing differs from believing rather in the point of view from which the case is regarded than in the certainty of the knowledge it affords. It is apparent that in either form of apprehension the ultimate ground of certainty is to be sought in the intuitions of reason.

¹ *Discours de la Conformité de la Foi, etc.*, 44.

Before entering upon the more characteristic and fundamental arguments in his vindication of God in view of the presence of evil in the universe Leibnitz calls attention to some considerations which may affect, even if they do not solve, the problem. One of these considerations is, that an evil is often the cause of a good which without it never would have existed. Sometimes through their combination two evils bring about a good.

"Et si fata volunt, bina venena juvant."

Sometimes a general by a happy blunder gains a victory. And as to matters of common experience, the pleasures of the senses are often increased by an acid or bitter ingredient. A dark background sets off color, sombre shades enrich it. A discord rightly placed enhances the effect of harmony. We demand of a tragedy that it shall make us weep. If one would have the keenest enjoyment of health he must sometimes be ill. It is often the admixture of a little evil which makes us sensible of the good. But it will be said that the evils of life are great and outnumber the blessings. That is a mistake which arises from our paying more attention to the adverse elements of our experience than to the fortunate. If we were often sick and rarely well we should think health a far greater blessing than we now esteem it. And when we consider the fragility of the human body the wonder is, not that we are sometimes ill, but that we are ever well. We ought to admire the wisdom and goodness of God who has made bodily existence so tolerable. Books are written on the miseries of human life. It were better that the same talent should be employed in setting forth its happiness.

But, however it goes with us here below, there is another life beyond. Ah! there's the rub! Some think there are few that are saved. Well, suppose that we admit that the number of the damned is immeasurably greater than that of the saved; a little astronomy perhaps will help us here. That may all be true for this planet, but not necessarily for the universe. The proportion may be entirely reversed when we take in the City of God in its true extent. One would do well to read that little book, "*De Amplitudine Regni Cœlestis*," and enlarge his views of things. Look up at the sky on a clear night! What is our earth? It is just one of six satellites of a sun which itself is nothing but one of those shining points we see. Our planet is a mere appendage to an insignificant star. It disappears as a mote in immensity. Those innumerable worlds as large as ours, and many of them much

larger, may very well have rational beings for inhabitants, and those inhabitants may all be holy and happy. Let us imagine the kingdom of God in its true greatness, and this little world with all its evils sinks out of sight.

In dealing philosophically with the problem of evil Leibnitz will have us start from our necessary ideas of the being of God and his relation to the world. God is the first principle of existence. "Dieu est la première des choses." Whatever exists in space and time is contingent, because finite. It might be other than what it is. It might even not be at all. The world, which is the sum of contingent existence, does not contain within itself the cause or reason of its own existence. This cause or reason must be sought in a substance which is necessary and eternal, in a substance which being *causa sui* may also be *causa mundi*. But this first cause of the world must be intelligent, because the existing world, being contingent, implies an infinitude of other worlds, equally possible, to which the cause of the world must have had respect in determining this to exist. All possible worlds are present from eternity in the divine understanding. As respects the nature of these possible worlds, each must be conceived as a whole in itself, a whole in which each occurrence is bound indissolubly to every other. Each world is like an ocean, — a disturbance in one part affects every other part. In the actual world, accordingly, the least variation from what actually happens would be the same as the substitution of another world for this one.

There are grades of excellence in these possible worlds. Some are good, others better, one is best. By infinite intelligence each is known and judged. The best is known, and known as best. But so long as a world exists only in the realm of possibility it is merely a thought. From this infinite multitude of thought-worlds one must pass into actual existence. The passage from possibility to actuality is effected by Divine Power. There can be but one real world, for the very notion of a world is that it is the sum of all actuality. The will of God then, which is the origin of existences, can choose but one to exist from the infinity of possible worlds which as essences, or thoughts, the divine intelligence contains. By metaphysical necessity, by the law of contradiction, God is limited in his choice to *one* world. By another kind of necessity, by *moral* necessity, his choice is limited to a *certain* one. Infinite wisdom and goodness oblige Him to choose the *best* of all the possible worlds. To the existence of that best world, moreover, there can be no obstacles in the case of infinite power.

Accordingly, we must think that the best of all possible worlds has become actual. Or judging *ab effectu* we may reverse the statement and say, The actual world is the best of all possible worlds. "Ab actu ad potentiam valet consequentia." In the case of God, the reasoning is good: He has done it, therefore it is best; He has brought this world into being, therefore this is the best world which could be. This is the fixed position from which we are to start, and to which we are to return, in dealing with the problem of evil. The actual world and the best world are identical; what is true of the one is true of the other. If imperfection, suffering and sin exist in this world, then they exist in the best of all possible worlds. To imagine a world in which these evils do not exist is indeed possible for us, but it is mere romancing. God, however, is no dreamer. He never seriously contemplated the existence of a world free from evil; for He always had his thought fixed upon the best world. If we take *moral* possibility into account the possible worlds become narrowed down to one, to that one which by the *principium melioris* God is bound to choose, which therefore He, being perfect, did choose. In this view, then, the possible and the actual are identical. The actual is the *only* possible world. To imagine any other is to dream. We cannot reason then that in the best world there would be no sin nor sorrow, and therefore that this world is not the best; but rather that these evils existing here show that in the best of all worlds "it must needs be that offenses come." We must say even that it would have been sin in God himself not to permit sin in his universe. For had not God chosen this world with all its evil He would have chosen an inferior one. But to choose an inferior when a better is possible, or even one merely better than another when the best is possible, is to be deficient either in wisdom or goodness. But that is contradictory to the nature of God. If God, who is infinite in these attributes, should make a choice unworthy of them He would sin. We might think, however, that so far as the divine wisdom and goodness were concerned, God's choice was for the best world, but that being unable to bring it into existence He was obliged to create an inferior one. But to think of God as limited in power is also contradictory to our necessary ideas of the Divine Nature, and therefore that supposition cannot be entertained. God then both can and by moral necessity must make the best world actual, whatever that best world may contain. That world contains sin and other evils. God then would himself commit sin did He not permit it in his universe.

But the objection still returns, What can be more contradictory to the idea of God than evil, particularly moral evil? How can it exist in a world of his choice and creation? Moreover, can one be said to permit what he cannot prevent? and, granting He has the power to do so, ought not God to choose to prevent all evil, as being opposed to his nature?

From this desperate dilemma there appears to be no escape except either by denying the reality of evil or by limiting the Divine Nature. Let us, however, trace the course of Leibnitz. The universe may be contemplated from two different points of view. From the one it presents itself as nature, from the other as creation. Viewed as *nature*, everything is subject to the law of efficient causation. Each present state of the universe is the necessary sequence of the whole past, and the entire future lies wrapped up in the present. A mind with the requisite insight might see in each state the whole history of the world. Every monad is a mirror of the universe. All is necessary continuous connection of states and events. But the universe may be viewed also as *creation*. The world-series in this aspect is not merely a sequence but an order. The relation of means and end takes the lead in this point of view. The series is regarded as due not to efficient only but to final cause. The world is a plan. There are, however, not properly two series, but simply two aspects of the same series. From the one point of view we may say that everything is as it is because the whole sum of its natural causes requires it to be what it is. From the other point of view we may say that everything is what it is because the divine plan requires it to be thus and not otherwise. One controlling purpose running through the web of nature determines the pattern which the machinery of nature constructs. Cause and design are in harmony from the first. It is a preëstablished harmony. The whole sum of causes which constitute the world, or, more exactly, the whole system of monads whose inner changes are the history of the universe, have the ultimate ground of their being not in themselves, but in the one supreme monad, the Absolute Being, who is *causa sui*, and whose will is the ground of all existence. The last word, then, in explanation of nature is *Will*. And throughout the successive instants of duration, down to the furthest future, the same absolute will which, at the beginning, chose out of all possible worlds this actual one to exist sustains it in being. For the continued existence of finite being is continued creation. Before, beneath, and beyond all natural causation is the designing,

supporting, completing will of God. Final and efficient causes are then in harmony, but primacy belongs to the former. The universe is the expression of purpose, of will, but not of bare, undetermined volition. The will which has found expression in the universe is limited in that expression by two ultimate principles, two forms of necessity, namely, metaphysical and moral necessity. The former fixes the bounds of possibility. Not God himself can make that to exist the existence of which involves a contradiction. The latter prescribes the content of any universe which shall become actual. It shall contain, by virtue of the *principium melioris*, the greatest amount of good with the least amount of evil. Where, by virtue of the first principle — metaphysical necessity — evil must necessarily exist, by virtue of the second such evil shall be at a minimum, and a *minimum* of evil is a form of good. But why must evil enter at all into the universe, which has its origin in a perfect Being?

To answer the question we must consider the nature of evil. Evil belongs by metaphysical necessity to creation itself. In its essence evil is negation, defect. Only the good is the real. God is the sum of reality — *ens realissimum*. In Him is no defect, no limitation, no evil. God cannot impart his own fullness to another being without making him straightway God. If God create, the creature must be finite, less than Deity, therefore imperfect. There may be different grades of created existence according to the amount of positive being imparted, but every creature, because created, must be imperfect. Evil, then, in its essence is privation. This is properly *metaphysical* evil, but *physical* evil, pain, death, etc., and *moral* evil, sin, flow from metaphysical evil. Now the divine activity in creating and continuing in existence finite beings is related only to that which is positive in them. The defects belong wholly to the creatures themselves, and arise out of the necessary limitations to which created existence is subject. To illustrate his view, Leibnitz avails himself of the physical doctrine of the natural inertia of bodies as taught by Kepler and Descartes. Bodies of different weights impelled by the same force move with correspondingly different velocities. Suppose the current of a river is bearing along a number of barges which differ only in respect to the weight of their cargoes. The more heavily laden barges will move more slowly than the rest. It is not, however, the current of the river surely, it is not precisely the weight of the barges which causes the retardation; it is rather that which causes the weight to be greater in

denser bodies. The true cause is the *vis inertiae* native to matter, and which increases with the amount of matter. It is this negative element which accounts for the slower movement of the heavier barges.

To apply the illustration: The divine activity which creates and preserves all that is positive in existences, — all, that is, which gives to them their real being, their perfections, their powers, — this divine activity may be compared to the current of the river. And as the stream is the cause of the movement of the boats but not of their retardation, so God is the cause of the perfections of the nature and actions of creatures, but not of their defects. If, then, it be asked, Where shall we seek the source of evil? the answer is, In the ideal nature of created being as that nature is contained in the eternal truths which are in the intelligence of God independently of his will. God is not the author of his own understanding. There is a region of eternal truths, *région des vérités éternelles*, wherein is found not only the primitive form of good, but also the origin of evil. This realm contains the *ideal* ground, but not properly the *efficient* cause of evil. Properly speaking, evil being in its idea negative has no efficient cause, but rather, as the scholastics were accustomed to say, "*Malum causam habet non efficientem sed deficientem.*"

That the essence of evil is defect is seen in experience. Intellectual error is a species of privation. It is want of observation, or defect of judgment. Moral error is of the same nature. The will tends to good abstractly. It *should* tend toward that good which is in harmony with our whole being and with the supreme perfection which is in God. Pleasures — even the pleasures of the senses — contain an element of perfection. Evil arises through limitation to these or to others to the prejudice of higher good, as of health, virtue, blessedness. The moral defect is the absence of this higher tendency. In general, perfection is positive, it is the reality; evil is negative, it arises from limitation and tends to new limitations. The dictum is as true as it is old: "*Bonum ex causa integra, malum ex quolibet defectu.*"

In explanation of the divine permission of the existence of evil, Leibnitz distinguishes between the *antecedent* and the *consequent* will of God. Will in general he defines as inclination to do anything in view of the good contained in it. Regarded abstractly, such will or volition is called *antecedent*. Its object is some good simply. In this sense it may be said that the divine will tends to all good *per se* — "*ad perfectionem simpliciter simplicem.*" God

has a sincere disposition (*inclination sérieuse*) to sanctify and save all men. This disposition would become effect did not some stronger reason prevent it. Full and inevitable effect belongs only to the *consequent* will. This consequent will, final and decisive, results from the combination of all antecedent volitions taken together, both those which tend toward some good, and those which repel some evil. The concurrence of all these particular volitions, whence results the total volition, the volition, that is, which passes into effect, may be compared to the final direction which a moving body takes when acted upon by a number of different forces. The consequent volition is the resultant of all the antecedent volitions. And it may be said that as the resultant movement takes up into itself the several tendencies and satisfies each so far as possible, so in the consequent volition each antecedent has such effect as the whole permits. The whole *compossibility* is represented in it. *Antecedently*, God wills every form of good. *Consequently*, He wills that which, all things considered, is the *best*. As respects evil, God does not will *moral* evil at all, nor in an absolute manner does He will *physical* evil or suffering. He often wills physical evil as punishment for sin, and often, also, as a means to an end, namely, to hinder greater evils, or to secure greater good. Punishment serves for amendment and for example. Evil often serves by contrast to heighten our satisfaction in good, and sometimes it contributes to the greater perfection of those who suffer it. As respects *moral* evil, although it may often be a means of obtaining some good, or of preventing some other evil, this fact does not render it a proper object of divine volition. Sin must neither be admitted nor permitted, except so far as its permission is necessitated by obedience to imperative duty. One may be guilty of sin himself who does not in certain circumstances will to permit the sin of another. The rule, "Non esse facienda mala, ut eveniant bona," which forbids the permission of moral evil in order to obtain a physical good, far from being violated in the divine permission of evil, is here confirmed and its source and meaning made clear. A sovereign may not permit a crime in order to save a state. For the crime is certain, the peril at the best is doubtful; and moreover such conduct, if general, would produce greater evils than it would prevent. But in the case of God creating the universe nothing is doubtful, and nothing can be opposed to the *rule of the best*, a rule which suffers no exception and no relaxation. It is upon this principle that God permits sin. He would fail in duty, in what is due to his wisdom, his goodness,

his perfection, if he did not follow the total resultant of all the tendencies to good which exist in Him, and choose the absolutely best world, notwithstanding the moral evil which by the supreme necessity of eternal truths is involved therein.

God wills *antecedently* everything good *per se*. He wills *consequently* the best as the end. He wills the indifferent and the evil, that is, physical evil, as a means to the good. He wills to permit moral evil only because of its inseparable connection with the best universe. Evil is often an indispensable condition of good, and human sin is the necessary presupposition of human redemption.

“O certe necessarium Adæ peccatum,
Quod Christi morte deletum est !
O felix culpa, quæ talem ac tantum
Meruit habere Redemptorem !”

It is wisdom in God therefore — it is virtue in Him — to permit moral evil. To refuse to do so would be sin in God himself. It would be the greatest sin conceivable. It would involve the sacrifice of the best universe which could exist.

Henry A. P. Torrey.

BURLINGTON, VT.

(To be continued.)

THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY.

THE missionary societies organized in Great Britain and in New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were called Propagation Societies, and, in consequence of the similarity in their names, it is not always easy to distinguish any one of them from the others. In 1649 the Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England was established by act of Parliament, and in 1661 was reorganized under a charter from Charles II. On the 16th of June, 1701, a charter was granted by William III. to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This society has always included among its officers the high dignitaries of the English Church, and is strictly an Anglican society. It celebrated its third jubilee in London in 1851. In 1709, on the 25th of May, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was chartered under the great seal of Scotland. Its primary object was to carry the gospel to destitute places in

the highlands and islands of Scotland, but after a few years it directed its attention to North America. In 1730 Jonathan Belcher, then governor of Massachusetts, and other gentlemen were commissioned to be its correspondents and to select missionaries for New England, and in 1741 a board of correspondents was established in New York. In 1787 the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America was incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts.

Of the first and oldest of these Propagation Societies, now called the New England Company, in order, as we suppose, to distinguish it from the second, we propose to give some account in this paper, with a brief reference in closing to the fourth.

On the 19th of November, 1644, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an order "that the County Courts should take care that the Indians residing in their several shires should be civilized, and that they should have power to take order from time to time to have them instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." A year later, October 1, 1645, the elders were informed of the readiness of the Court to pass any enactments which "should be thought meet to bring the natives to the knowledge of God and his ways," and were invited to "return their thoughts about it." On the 4th of November, 1646, the Court "ordered and decreed that two ministers should be chosen by the Elders of the churches every year, at the Court of Election, and so to be sent, with the consent of their churches, with whomsoever would freely offer themselves to accompany them in that service, to make known the heavenly counsel of God among the Indians in most familiar manner, by the help of some able interpreter, . . . and that something might be allowed them by the General Court to give away freely to those Indians whom they should perceive most willing and ready to be instructed by them."

"The General Court of Massachusetts," says Palfrey, "was thus the first missionary society in the history of Protestant Christendom." A week before it took the action just recited the Rev. John Eliot made his first essay in preaching to the Indians in their own language. This apostolic man was then forty-two years of age; for fourteen years he had been one of the ministers of the church in Roxbury, and latterly he had been endeavoring to acquire the language of the natives. The simple narrative of his first missionary services, from the pen of the Rev. Thomas Shepard,¹ thus begins:—

¹ Mr. Eliot could not have been the author, as stated in the reprint of this

"Upon October 28, 1646, four of us (having sought God) went unto the Indians inhabiting within our bounds, with desire to make known the things of their peace to them. A little before we came to their Wigwams, five or six of the chief of them met us with English salutations, bidding us much welcome; who leading us into the principall Wigwam of Waaubon, we found many more Indians, men, women, children, gathered together from all quarters round about, according to appointment, to meet with us, and learne of us. . . .

"They being all there assembled, we began with prayer, which now was in English, being not so farre acquainted with the Indian language as to expresse our hearts herein before God or them, but wee hope it will bee done ere long. . . .

"When prayer was ended it was a glorious affecting spectacle to see a company of perishing, forlorne outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered; professing they understood all that which was then taught them in their owne tongue; it much affected us that they should smell some things of the Alabaster box broken up in that darke and gloomy habitation of filthinesse and uncleane spirits. For about an houre and a quarter the Sermon continued, wherein one of our company ran thorough all the principall matter of religion, beginning first with a repetition of the ten Commandments, and a brieve explication of them, then showing the curse and dreadfull wrath of God against all those who brake them, or any one of them, or the least title of them, and so applyed it unto the condition of the Indians present, with much sweet affection; and then preached Jesus Christ to them the onely means of recovery from sinne and wrath and eternall death."

Before the end of the year Mr. Eliot held three more services similar to that which has been described, and was much encouraged by the increase in the attendance and the respectful manner in which his instructions were received.

Among others who were deeply interested in these early efforts for the evangelization of the Indians were Mr. Wilson, of Boston, Mr. Allin, of Dedham, Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, and Mr. Dunster, then president of the college. Even before Eliot's first sermon at Nonantum, Thomas Mayhew, in 1644, had commenced

tract, for in the account of the meeting of November 26 it is said: "I could not goe my selfe, but heard from those who went of a third meeting." Governor Winthrop, in his Journal, ascribes the authorship to Mr. Shepard, who, we know, wrote the text which appeared a year later.

the self-denying labors among the savages who inhabited Martha's Vineyard, which were to be carried on by succeeding members of the Mayhew family for an hundred and fifty years. The letters of Eliot, Shepard, Mayhew, and others, addressed to friends in England, in which accounts of the work which had been commenced among the aborigines were given, made a profound impression in that country. They were published there, as we shall see, in the form of tracts, and a desire was at once manifested by those who read them to coöperate with their brethren beyond the sea by the contribution of money. Thomas Welde, who had been associated with Eliot in the pastorate at Roxbury, and Hugh Peters, of Salem, were then living in England as the agents of Massachusetts, and had been collecting money to be used in various ways in the colony. The former would naturally feel interested in the work of his late colleague, and he says in one of his statements of account:—

"Some gave for preaching y^e Gospell to y^e natives, out of which Twenty Pounds per Annum is settled firmly by Indenture for ever for y^t use which Mr. Elliott hath had ever since hee sett upon that happie worke and Thirty pounds was sent since by Bill to receive."

Edward Winslow succeeded Welde and Peters in the representation of the colony in England. He sailed from Boston about the middle of December, 1646, and probably took with him, in manuscript, the narrative of Mr. Eliot's preaching services from which we have quoted above. It was printed the following year with the title, "The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New England."¹ In 1648 a letter or report from Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, was published in a tract entitled, "The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel, breaking forth upon the Indians in New England." It contained a dedication to the High Court of Parliament and an earnest introductory address

¹ This was No. II. of the series of tracts known as the Eliot Tracts. For a description of them, see "Sketch of the New England Company," by Mr. Henry William Busk, of Lincoln's Inn, London. No. I., entitled "New England's First Fruits," was issued in London in 1643, and gave an account of the preliminary work which had been done among the Indians, and of the progress of learning in the college at Cambridge. Most of the series have been reprinted separately, and Vol. XXIV. of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* contains reprints of Nos. II. to VIII. The originals are very scarce. The Lenox Library, New York, has a complete set, and so has the American Antiquarian Society; Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge, has nine out of the eleven; \$175 has been paid for a copy of No. IX., and \$100 for No. XI.

"to the Godly and well affected of this Kingdome of England," both signed by twelve of the most eminent ministers, Presbyterians and Independents, living "in and about the city of London." This tract "found such acceptance" in the House of Commons that it "begat a debate," "how the Parliament of England might be serviceable to the Lord Jesus, to help forward such a work begun," and it was referred by order, March 17, 1647,¹ "to the Committee of forraign Plantations, to prepare and bring in an Ordinance for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety in New England." The committee, "with great readiness and chearfulnesse," took the subject into their serious consideration, and presented a report to the House; but matters of much more pressing importance intervened,² and no definite action was taken.

But Mr. Winslow would not allow the question to rest, and in the spring of 1649, having received encouraging letters from Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew telling of their work during the preceding year, he issued another tract dedicated "to the Parliament of England and the Councell of State," with the title, "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England." This accomplished the desired purpose, and on the 27th of July, 1649, an act or ordinance was passed with this title: "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." This ordinance recited that intelligence had been received that divers heathen natives of New England had, through the blessing of God upon the pious care and pains of some godly English, not only of barbarous become civil, but many of them forsaking their sorceries and other satanical delusions, did then call upon the name of the Lord; and that, for the propagation of the Gospel amongst these poor heathen, universities, schools, and nurseries of literature must be settled, and instruments and materials fit for labor and clothing, with other necessities, must be provided. The ordinance therefore enacted that there should be a corporation in England consisting of sixteen persons, including a president, a treasurer, and fourteen assistants, to be called "The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," with power to acquire lands (not

¹ This date, of course, was March 17, 1647.

² Between the reference of the subject to the Committee of Foreign Plantations and the issue of the next tract by Mr. Winslow a revolt of the fleet in the Downs had been put down, insurrections in Kent and in the Eastern Counties had been suppressed, and Charles I. had been brought to the scaffold.

exceeding the yearly value of £2000), goods, and money. The corporators were, William Steele, Herbert Pelham, James Shirley, Abraham Babington, Robert Houghton, Richard Hutchinson, George Dun, Robert Thompson, William Mullins, John Hodgson, Edward Parks, Edward Cludd, Richard Lloyd or Floyd, Thomas Ayres, John Stone, Edward Winslow. The president was William Steele, a judge of one of the courts, and the temporary treasurer was "Mr. Richard floyde, dwellinge in Cheapside att the signe of the Meremayde, between Milkes street and Wood Streete."¹ The office of the society was at Coopers' Hall, Basinghall Street, which, of course, was swept away in the Great Fire of 1666. The hall erected on its site has been pulled down within the last twenty years.

A general collection for the objects of the corporation was made, by authority, in all the cities, towns, and parishes of England and Wales. The sum of £12,000 was soon raised, and this was invested in landed property at Eriswell, in Suffolk, and a farm at Plumstead, in Kent, as well as several houses in London. The society still holds the Plumstead lands, but the Eriswell estate was sold, in 1869, to the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. Edward Winslow, who had been one of the prime movers in the organization of the society, superintended the collection and investment of the money.

Correspondence was at once opened with the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England, through whom the work of evangelization was to be carried forward. They held a meeting annually, on the first Thursday in September, at Boston, Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, in rotation. The first official letter from Mr. Steele was received and considered by them at their meeting at Hartford in 1650. The Board at that time consisted of Simon Bradstreet and William Hathorne, of Massachusetts Bay; Thomas Prince and John Browne, of Plymouth; Edward Hopkins and John Haynes, of Connecticut; and Theophilus Eaton and Stephen Goodyear, of New Haven. The treasurership in New England, with the executive management of affairs, was intrusted, at the meeting at New Haven in 1651, to Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He was called

¹ This must not be confounded with the famous Mermaid Tavern, in Bread Street, on the opposite side of Cheapside, the favorite resort of Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, and perhaps Shakespeare. Cunningham says that "John Rastell, the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, was a printer, living at the sign of The Mermaid in Cheapside," and that "The Pastyme of the People," folio, 1529, was printed there. There was also a Mermaid in Cornhill.

"steward and agent," and he held the trust for many years, perhaps until his death in 1693.

We have referred to collections made in England by Mr. Welde and Mr. Peters. These were for various objects, as set forth in the heading to a statement of account rendered by the former:—

"A true acc^t of what moneys were p^d my self and oth^{rs} Rec^d and from whome, for New England towarde a Common Stock, the poore Children, the Colledge, th' advance of Learning, the Library, the poore of New England and the Conversion of the Indians from the tyme of our first landing there until this pr'sent 10th of the 2nd m^o 1647."

Mr. Welde's accounts, which, with his letters relating to them, have been published in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," are apparently full and exact in their statement of receipts and expenditures, and were audited by Nathaniel Duncan, auditor-general for the colony. There was, however, on the part of many who had assisted in these collections, a certain feeling of distrust, which made itself manifest when the claims of the new society were presented. At the request of Mr. Winslow, Mr. Welde wrote "a letter at large," which, it was hoped, would satisfy those whom it might concern that the moneys received had been faithfully and judiciously applied; but it did not answer the purpose anticipated. Mr. Welde then prepared a paper, entitled "Innocency Cleared," "to silence the malicious, to satisfie the Sober and to remove the obstruction of the contribution for propagating the Gospell to the natives in New England." Had this paper been printed and circulated, it would have convinced the ministers who "used to meet at Sion Colledge,"—the denominational house of the period,—and those whom they represented, that at the least there had been no dishonesty in the application of the funds.¹

The only extracts from the early correspondence of the society we shall permit ourselves to make in this article will bear chiefly upon the difficulties encountered by its friends in raising money,

¹ The amount collected was £1,625. Of this, £800 was expended in the transportation of poor children to New England, and with very inadequate results. Hence, probably, much of the dissatisfaction referred to in the text. Mr. Duncan wrote, after his examination of the accounts in 1647: "So it appeareth that the country in general hath little benefit by all these moneys, and less considering how great trouble the Court hath had about it." See Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. ii., page 335. The accounts were not accepted and allowed by the General Court until October, 1651. Savage remarks that the Court hardly ever failed to be dissatisfied with its agents in England.

—difficulties not altogether unlike those which have to be overcome at the present day.

Mr. Steele wrote to the Board of Commissioners March 24, 1649-50:—

“Wheras in all ages it hath been the designe of ungodly men to hinder and oppose the spreding and propagating of the Gospell of the lord Jesus of which wee are truly sensible; In Reference to those discouragements we have mett withal sence wee had soe great trust upon us yet through the blessing of god the business of the Corporation is in a good forwardness.”

In their reply to this letter the commissioners said:—

“But the Almighty whom you serve heerin Can easily Remove Impediments and make every mountaine become a playne, and wee are assured your eye is towards him who observes to the kindleing of a fier upon his aulter and a Cuppe of water given with spirituall aymes all the love and labour of his people and in no service [will permit] Intervening difficulties and exersices to pass without a Waight of Recompence.”

Mr. Steele wrote, under date of April 17, 1651:—

“Wee are sorry soe much time hath been lost and yet wee hope we have gained by our stay in som Respects for many minnisters in London have promoted the act that were Resolved against it and wee beleve the like in the Countrey because they are constrained either by light within them or example without them beyond their late Resolucions but wee conclude it is of God and trust wee shall find a blessing upon our joynt endeavors.

“Tis strang to see what and how many objections arise against the work som from the ill management of former Gifts bestowed on the Countrey of New England of which no account hath been given to the doners and som personally Reflecting upon Mr. Wells [Welde] and Mr. Peters som upon our selves the corporation as if we had so much p pound of what is collected or might feast our selves liberally therewith wheras through mercy wee never yet eat or drank of the fruit or charge of it; and neither have had or expect a penney or pennyworth for all the paines wee shall take therein but contrary wise account it a mercy; God giving us an opportunity to bee exercised in a work wherein his Glory and the salvation of soe many is soe neerly Concerned as for Mr. Peters and Mr. Wells they have sufficiently satisfied us with what hath been formerly answered as by the copy of Mr. Wells letters heere enclosed yet we could desire the Government of the Massachusetts or their speciall Commissioners would give us from

thence a word or two what account hath been given by Mr. Wells and what satisfaction theire court Received by his account thither sent; and send it in such tearmes as wee may publish it to the world if wee see cause this will Conduce much to the furtherance of the work but wee leave it to your discretion."¹

The commissioners had placed themselves at once in communication with Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew, and as opportunity permitted they employed others, Englishmen and natives, in the capacity of assistants to those missionaries, and in other places. They selected some young men to be fitted for future service at Cambridge as teachers of Indian youth who might be admitted to the college, and they authorized the erection within the college precincts of a small building for the accommodation of native pupils. They made provision for printing catechisms in the Indian language, and for the great work of the translation of the Holy Scriptures. They encouraged some "deserving Indians" by small grants of money. In the eighth year of their administration of the trust their outlay, according to the account then rendered by them, amounted to £520.²

In the mean time the society in London was doing all in its power to keep up the interest on that side of the water. Between 1651 and 1660, inclusive, it published six tracts, of the series now known as the Eliot tracts.³ Of these, No. VI., printed in 1652, was dedicated to "The Supream Authoritie of this Nation, The Parliament of the Common-Wealth of England," and No. VII., 1653, to "His Excellency the Lord General Cromwel." In a note appended to No. VI. Mr. Steele thus refers to some of the opposition which the corporation had to contend against:—

"The reason wherefore we have published so many testimonials, and shall insert more, is because too many that come from thence labour to blast the worke, by reporting here that there is no such worke afoote in the Countrey: or if it be it is but for the loaves, and if any be truely converted, 'tis not above five or seaven at most."

The president goes on to say, that any who desire to see the originals of the letters received by the corporation from its agents

¹ Mr. Welde held the living of Gateshead, Durham, from 1649 to 1660. He was ejected in the latter year. Before migrating to New England he had been vicar of Terling, Essex. He died in London, March 23, 1664.

² Palfrey's *History*, vol. ii., pp. 332, 333.

³ Edward Winslow sailed with the expedition to the West Indies under Admiral Penn, December, 1654. He died at sea, May, 1655, between Hispaniola and Jamaica.

and friends can do so by repairing to Coopers' Hall on any Saturday, in the forenoon.

In a very beautiful address in No. VII., "To the Christian Reader," the Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, replies thus to the question, why the converts had not been "combined and united into Church-Estate:"—

"Such an one may do well to consider, that the material Temple was many yeers in building, even in the daies of Solomon, who wanted no helps and furtherances thereunto, but was abundantly furnished therewith, and longer in Re-edifying after the Captivity; and therefore no marvel if the building of a Spiritual Temple, an holy Church to Christ, and a Church out of such rubbish as amongst Indians, be not begun and ended on a sudden; It is rather to be wondered at, that in so short a time, the thing is in so much forwardness as it is."

One of the most serious embarrassments to the corporation came from the friction which at an early day developed itself between Mr. Eliot and the commissioners in New England. The former complained to the society at home that he was not sufficiently considered by the latter, and that the remuneration allowed to him by them was insufficient. On the other hand, the commissioners alleged that Mr. Eliot had not been properly regardful of their rights and responsibilities. The sympathies of the Christian public in England were, very naturally, with Mr. Eliot, and the misunderstanding cost the society several thousand pounds. The president wrote a conciliatory letter to the commissioners on the 18th of February, 1653, in which he said:—

"These things wee thought good to acquaint you withall and doe Intreat that Mr. Elliott Mr. Mayhew and such other eminent Instruments and labourers as are Employed therein may have greater Incoragement from you; according to what the lord shall send in from time to time; wee are farr from Justifying Mr. Elliott in his Turbulent and clamorus proceedings but the best of gods servants have their faylings; and as such soe we look upon him."

There would seem to be no doubt that the commissioners were rather severe in their ideas of economy, the result in part, perhaps, of their sense of responsibility to the company in London. The president wrote to them, under date of September 15, 1655:—

"Wee can not but acquaint you with that generall complaint and report which is heer and that not the least by some that come

from New England that the minnesters and Scoolmasters whoe labour in this worke amongst the Indians are very much discouraged for want of a competent maintainance for themselves and families by meanes wherof we lye under severall Imputations and the worke in our hands is much obstructed and retarded wee therefore desire for avoiding the same that you would please to settle such salaries upon them as may comfortably answere theire paines and travell in the worke."

But we must hasten to speak of troubles much more serious than any which had yet beset the society. In the autumn of 1658 the great Protector died, and a year and a half later the Stuart Restoration took place. This change affected all the interests of religion equally with those of the state. For a time everything was in confusion. Among those who suffered death on Tower Hill were Hugh Peters and Henry Vane, of whom one had been an honored pastor in Massachusetts, and the other, for a single year, governor of the colony. Many of the friends of New England fled for their lives. The corporation which had undertaken the work of evangelizing the Indians, as a creation of the Long Parliament, had ceased to exist,¹ and even its invested property was in danger. It is remarkable that under all the circumstances it should have proved possible to obtain a royal charter and to reorganize the society under it. It was made possible, we think, by the sagacity, and especially by the promptness, of those who had the work at heart. They took the king when he was anxious to please all parties, and when it answered his purpose to be conciliatory to the moderate Presbyterians. He was then not only promising liberty of conscience to his subjects, but professing a desire for a compromise between the contending sects. "He wished," he said, "to see the spiritual jurisdiction divided between bishops and synods. The liturgy should be revised by a body of learned divines, one half of whom should be Presbyterians."²

¹ John Hooper, clerk of the corporation, wrote to the commissioners May 18, 1661: "Wee suppose you are not strangers to the condition of affaires; and particularly with respect to our selves being now noe Corporation; though not without good hopes that the same wilbee renewed and confeirmed by His Majestie though possibly the busines may bee acted by other persons."

² Many members of the Presbyterian party were influential at court at this time. Among them may be mentioned the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Anglesea, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Sandwich, Lord Saye and Sele, and Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury. The Thompsons, who had been active in the old society, and who were to be prominent in the new company, were related to the Earl of Anglesea.

Six months had not passed after the landing of Charles at Dover, when, at a meeting of the Privy Council November 14, 1660, "a petition of divers for Propagating the Gospel in America" was referred to the attorney general in order that he might prepare a draft for renewing the charter of the corporation. A report was made by him to the Council on the 10th of April, 1661; the names of the corporators were decided upon on the 17th of May; and on the 7th of August letters-patent under the great seal were authorized and required, constituting Robert Boyle governor of the society. The charter was not perfected and issued until the 7th of February, 1664. On St. Bartholomew's Day of the same year, 1662,¹ about one fifth of the English clergy were driven from their parishes under the Act of Uniformity.

The corporate name of the new society was "The Company for Propagation of the Gospell in New England, and the parts adjacent in America." There were forty-five corporators, including both Episcopalians and Nonconformists, and at the head of the list were several high officers of state: the Earl of Clarendon, lord chancellor; the Earl of Southampton, lord high treasurer; George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, lord general; the Earl of Manchester, lord chamberlain; and others.² Nine members of the former society were named in the new charter, and the other corporators were prominent citizens of London, some of them merchants and physicians; it is noticeable that among the whole number there was not a clergyman of any denomination.

The royal charter had been obtained mainly by the exertions of the Hon. Robert Boyle, a man greatly distinguished for learning, piety, and benevolence. He was, as we have seen, designated first governor by the Privy Council, and he presided over the affairs of the company for nearly thirty years, and until his death. Henry Ashurst, who had been treasurer of the late reputed corporation, was the first treasurer. His son, Sir William Ashurst, was elected governor in 1696.

Eliot's translation of the New Testament into the Mohican

¹ Judge Sewall notes in his diary, that on the anniversary of this day, twenty-five years later, the Declaration of Indulgence of James II., suspending all penal laws against Nonconformists, and dispensing with religious tests, was promulgated in Boston: "Augt. 24. 1687. Bartholomew-Day. Indulgence for Liberty of Conscience published here."

² At the meeting of the Council at Whitehall on the 17th of May, the Earls of Clarendon, Southampton, Manchester, and Anglesea, the Duke of Albemarle, the Lord Viscount Saye and Sele, and others were constituted "a Committee touching the settlement of the Government of New England."

dialect of the Indian language was published in Boston September 5, 1661, and its appearance soon after in London was opportune. It was dedicated to Charles II. by the commissioners, with the same exaggeration, not to say fulsomeness, of compliment which characterizes the dedication of the Authorized Version to James I. Presentation copies were sent over for the king, the lord chancellor, Dr. Reynolds, who afterwards conformed and received a bishopric, Dr. Caryl, Mr. Baxter, and others.

There were no changes in the management of the general work in New England corresponding to those which had been taking place at home. Mr. Boyle wrote to the commissioners that the new corporation desired to avail itself of their continued agency, and as soon as practicable remittances were resumed. The publication of the Indian Bible was completed in 1663. The font of type used had been sent from London by the society, and Marmaduke Johnson, who was associated with Samuel Green in the work of printing, had come over under an agreement made in the spring of 1660, a few weeks before the Restoration, "to serve the President and Society and their Successors in New England aforesaid in the Art of a Printer for the printinge of the Bible in the Indian language and such other Books as he shall be directed to print for and duringe the terme of Three years to be accompted from the time of his departure from Gravesend." In 1685 Eliot brought out his second edition of the Bible; in its preparation he had been assisted by the Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, who was well acquainted with the Indian language. It was dedicated to the Hon. Robert Boyle, in an address signed by William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Peter Bulkley, and Thomas Hinckley. In both the first and second editions, the Psalms in Indian metre — translated by Eliot from the Bay Psalm Book — and a short Indian catechism followed the New Testament. In 1686 Eliot's translation of "The Practice of Piety," by Bishop Bayly,¹ was printed. The original work had a remarkable popularity for more than a century and a half. It was translated also into French, German, Welsh, Hungarian, and Polish; and in 1792 the seventy-first English edition appeared.

¹ Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, and a chaplain to James I., died in 1632. Three, at least, of the early editions of *The Practice of Piety* were dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales. In the Congregational Library, Boston, there is a reprint by Bartholomew Green, 1718, of the fifty-third English edition. The library of Harvard College contains a copy of the seventy-first edition. The Prince Library has a copy in English without title-page, and a copy of the Indian translation.

Our object in the present paper is to give a sketch of the society rather than a history of its work. We may say, however, that in the prosecution of this work it had very much to discourage it. Perhaps there never were more unpromising subjects of evangelistic labor than these "poor Naked sonnes of Adam," as Mr. Boyle called them in one of his letters. But Eliot, Mayhew, and their consecrated coadjutors pressed forward in sublime faith and in a spirit of Christlike love and devotion. Writing of the "poor soules" whom they were seeking to save, the commissioners reported at their meeting at Hartford in 1664:—

"Amongst whom we have Reason to hope the Lord hath some of those his other sheep that shall certainly in his good time hear his voyce and receive the unction of his holy speritt; for the time manor and measure of the communication wherof wee may not limett the holy one of Israell, but ought patiently and believeingly to hope and waite on him whose will not suffer any of his elect to be lost; wee must acknowledge it is att present with these poor Natives a day of smale thinges; and the Divell that old Dragon struggles hard being very unwilling to quite his Raigne that hee hath had soe longe time over them."

Trials of another sort followed at a later period. A storm cloud had long been threatening the people of Massachusetts, and at length it burst upon them. The charter was abrogated; and, to quote Palfrey, "Massachusetts, as a body politic, was now no more. The elaborate fabric, that had been fifty-four years in building, was levelled with the dust." Edward Randolph arrived in Boston on the 14th of May, 1686, with an exemplification of the judgment against the charter, and commissions for the functionaries of a new government. In the midst of the depression that followed, Eliot wrote the following short letter to Mr. Boyle:—

"Roxbury August 29 1686 }
in the third month of our overthrow }

"Right honourable unweariable nursing father

"I have nothing new to write but lamentations, and I am loth to grieve your loving and noble soul.

"Our Indian work yet liveth, praised be God; the bible is come forth, many hundreds bound up, and dispersed to the Indians, whose thankfulness I intimate and testify to your honour. The Practice of Piety is also finished, and beginneth to be bound up. And my humble request to your honour is, that we may again reimpose the primer and catechism; for though the last impression be not quite spent, yet quickly they will; and I am old,

ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can. I know not what to add in this distressing day of our overthrow; so I commit your honour to the Lord, and rest

Your honour's to serve you
In Jesus Christ

JOHN ELIOT."¹

Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston in December of the same year. The confederacy was now dissolved. The commissioners had met for the last time in 1684, and it became necessary for the Propagation Society in London to appoint and commission representatives of its own to carry forward the work here.² We have been unable to find a list of the first appointees, but we have reason to think that William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, and Dr. Increase Mather were among them, and that Sir Edmund Andros was a member of the board during the period of his administration. In Sewall's "Diary" we have this entry, under date of October 14, 1699:—

"I meet with the Governour [Lord Bellomont], Lt Gov^r [Mr. Stoughton] Mr I. Mather &c, about the Indian Affair, which is the first time The Lord make me faithfull and useful in it. Gov^r Ashurst's Letter was read wherein Mr Cotton Mather, Mr Neh. Walter, S. Sewall, Jn^o Foster, Mr Peter Sergeant, and Mr Thomas Bañistor were added."

Mr. Walter was the successor at Roxbury of Mr. Eliot, who died in 1690. Judge Sewall, who was a good friend to the Indian race, gave much time and thought to the society during the next thirty years, as his "Diary" and letters show. We have a record of three official visits made by him to Martha's Vineyard; one in 1702, when he was accompanied by his son Samuel; another in 1706, with Sir Edward Bromfield; and a third in 1714, with Colonel Penn Townsend. During this last visit, an arrangement was made for the occupation and cultivation of lands belonging to the society by Indian families severally. Other prominent members of the Board of Commissioners in the eighteenth century were William Dummer, Thomas Hutchinson, and Sir Francis

¹ Several of Mr. Eliot's letters to Mr. Boyle, full of expressions of affectionate respect, are printed in the third volume of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. One of them begins thus: "Right honourable right charitable and indefatigable nursing father."

² They were known as the Board of Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel; and this probably suggested the corporate name of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions instituted in 1810.

Bernard, and among the clergy, Benjamin Colman, Edward Wigglesworth, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Foxcroft, Thomas Prince, and Joseph Eckley. The treasurers, who were also members of the Board, were Samuel Sewall, Adam Winthrop, Andrew Oliver, William Phillips, and Isaac Smith. Among the members of the society in London, well known in New England, were Sir Thomas Abney, the Ashursts, the Thompsons, Thomas Hollis, and William Bowdoin.

When the struggle for American independence began, the work of the society in New England was interrupted, and at length discontinued. The commissioners in Boston supposed that the missionaries then under appointment would continue to receive their support as before, but the return of some of their bills from London dishonored opened their eyes to the situation. Unofficially a resolution came to their knowledge, which had been adopted "at a General Court of the New England Company on the 18th of May 1779":—

"Resolved, That the Governour be requested to write to Mr Isaac Smith to acquaint him that the Company will not accept any more Bills he shall draw on the Treasurer here, untill the restoration of Peace, Order and Good Government."

In reference to this action the treasurer wrote to London:—

"As this paper was totally unauthenticated, and so entirely opposite, without any assigned reason, to the resolve of the Company on the 10th of November 1775, we suppose it genuine only from the non payment of the Bills."

From this time forward, so far as we can gather from the records and papers here which are in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society,¹ the letters of the commissioners were not answered. On the 4th of August, 1784, the secretary of the company, Mr. Lane, wrote to Boston, asking certain questions, but he made no reference to letters written by the

¹ These valuable documents form a part of the Stearns MSS. Among them is the original deed by which Thomas, Earl of Limerick, conveyed to the company, May 10, 1711, "the Lordship and Mannor of Martin's Vineyard, with the appurtenances, formerly in the Province of New York, now in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and all that island and tract of land called Martin's Vineyard als Martha's Vineyard." See Sewall's *Diary*, vol. ii., pp. 434, 437; vol. iii., p. 334. Lord Limerick, then Colonel Dongan, had bought the same property, May 12, 1685, of Matthew Mayhew and Mary his wife. He was at this time governor of the province of New York. The islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard were conveyed in 1641 by the agent of the Earl of Stirling to Thomas Mayhew and his son Thomas,—grandfather and father of Matthew Mayhew.

commissioners January 18, 1781, and September 30, 1783. His letter was answered December 7, 1784, and after this we find no correspondence until April 12, 1787, when the following was sent to London:—

“The Commissioners have been inform’d, tho not officially, that the Society have determined to appoint a new board of Commissioners at Nova Scotia and to appropriate the Funds that have been employ’d in New England to that Province. How far they can be justified in making such an alteration, they do not take upon them to determine, but supposing they could legally do this, should they not have informed the Commissioners here of their determination and have directed them to dismiss the missionaries If they could do it consistant with the conditions on which they were originally settled, or to make them some reasonable allowance for so great a disappointment and then close the account of their commissioners.”

The amount due to the missionaries was about twelve hundred pounds sterling. Whether this was ever remitted from London we have been unable to ascertain.¹ In a “Sketch of the Company,” Mr. Henry W. Busk, the senior member, says:—

“In 1786, therefore, the work was begun in New Brunswick, and carried on in the same way as before by itinerant missionaries and teachers (under Commissioners), until 1804, when the Commissioners resigned, owing to the ill success of their endeavours. After much inquiry, the Company in 1808 appointed General Coffin and five others to be their Commissioners in New Brunswick, and they devised a plan of apprenticing children of Indians in various families in Sussex Vale, New Brunswick, with an annual allowance of ten to twenty pounds each. But after fourteen years trial, the scheme was found to have been greatly abused, and was therefore abandoned gradually, as was found possible.”

Since 1822 the business of the company has been managed directly by the members in London, and its operations have been carried on upon the Reserve of the Six Nations, and at other points in the Province of Ontario, and in British Columbia. Its most satisfactory work at the present time is thought to be at the Industrial School for Indian children near Brantford.

¹ Since the above was written, Mr. Busk has sent us information from London, that on the 14th of June, 1786, the company voted to pay to three missionaries, who had applied for payment, “and afterwards, to others of their then late missionaries in New England, and to their then late treasurer, and for taxes and incidental charges and for the salary of their then late treasurer in New England, sums amounting together to £1448. 6. 1.”

Even before the achievement of the political independence of the American colonies, which was to be followed by their independence in other relations, the churches in and near Boston had proposed, and if they had been permitted would have brought into existence, a missionary society of their own. The Rev. Peter Thacher, minister of Brattle Street Church, in a "Brief Account," published in 1798, says:—

"In the year 1762, a number of gentlemen associated with the design of establishing a society similar to that of which we are now about to give an account. They collected a large fund, and obtained a charter of incorporation from the government here, and began warmly and zealously to prosecute their pious and benevolent object. But, when the act of their incorporation was sent to England for allowance, the Archbishop of Canterbury, jealous lest this should interfere with the Society established in Great Britain, or perhaps unwilling that persons not well affected to episcopacy should obtain new influence and power by this means, obtained from the king a negative on the incorporating bill. It fell of course, and the zeal of its supporters in a great measure fell with it; for no more was heard concerning it till after the Revolution which made us an independent people.

"In the year 1787, a commission from the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was received by a number of gentlemen in Boston and its vicinity, to superintend the funds of the Society which were devoted to christianizing the aboriginal natives of America. Ashamed that more solicitude for this object should be discovered by foreigners than by themselves, these gentlemen revived the former plan, and associated for the purpose of forming a society similar to that in Scotland. They petitioned the General Assembly for a charter, which was granted them, with the adequate powers, at the close of the same year, 1787."

This was the fourth society mentioned at the beginning of this article. It at once undertook the support of the Rev. Zachariah Mayhew, on Martha's Vineyard, the Rev. Gideon Hawley, at Marshpee, and the Rev. John Sargent, at Stockbridge, all of whom had been in the employ of the New England Company. It also did home missionary work in religiously destitute neighborhoods in the District of Maine, including the Isles of Shoals. Mr. Thacher acted as its secretary for many years; and among its earlier active members were, of the clergy, Jeremy Belknap, Joseph Eckley, Nathaniel Emmons, Abiel Holmes, and John Lathrop, and

of the laymen, Francis Dana, Thomas Dawes, Moses Gill, John Lowell, William Phillips, Samuel Salisbury, and James Sullivan. The object of these founders, to quote Mr. Thacher, was "not to establish modes and forms, nor to propagate any private or party systems"; but "to promote the interests of true religion, and bring men to know and obey the 'truth as it is in Jesus.'"

When the separation in the Congregational body took place early in the present century, the Trinitarians united with members of the Presbyterian Church in forming the American Board, which is soon to hold its seventy-fifth anniversary in Boston, and since then the management of the Propagation Society of 1787 has for the most part been in the hands of the Unitarians.

Enough has been said, we think, in these pages to show that the churches of New England have from the beginning been engaged in missionary efforts, according to their ability and opportunity, in each generation. Eliot and the Mayhews, Brainard and Edwards, were the ancestors, historically, of Mills, Judson, and Hall; and the responsibility of administration borne by Bradstreet and Rawson, by Sewall and Winthrop, descended like the prophet's mantle upon Evarts and Wisner, and Anderson and Stoddard, and has fallen upon shoulders no less worthy to wear it in our own day.

Hamilton Andrews Hill.

BOSTON, MASS.

COMMERCE, CIVILIZATION, AND CHRISTIANITY IN THEIR RELATIONS TO EACH OTHER.

HAS civilization an ethical code? Are the principles of national morality distinct from those of personal morality? Is civilization the elevating and saving of a nation in its separateness, or does it necessitate subjugation and absorption? Is nominal Christianity anything more than a civil polity? Do the scenes of great civil violence originate mainly in nominal Christendom? How do the violent aggressions of nominal and commercial Christianity stand related to the spiritual extension of real Christianity? How is the claim for Christianity, as of divine origin, affected by its slow conquest of other religions?

This group of questions, what an astronomer would call in his heavens a nebula, invites to some study. We prefer to treat them in groups, rather than first to resolve the body into seven,

since we have not time or space to handle each separately with dignity.

The Botany Bay system, by which the European states have colonized wild and barbarous lands, must take a primary place in this study of seven questions. Inferior, criminal, and variously corrupt subjects have been conscripted, or enforced less directly, to compose and start these plantations. This general policy is honestly and well stated for England by Hakluyt:—

“If we would beholde with the eye of pitie how al our Prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their Countrie, which for small roberies are dayly hanged vp in great numbers, even twentie at a clappe, out of one iayle, as was seene at the last assizes at Rochester, wee would hasten and further, every man to his power, the deducting of some Colonies of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile partes of America, which, being within sixe weekes sayling of England, are yet vnpossessed by any Christians.”¹

The outcome of such a practice is shown in a remark of the colonial John Smith, of Virginia. When driven to the defensive for his administration of the Jamestown colony, he says: “Much they blamed me for not converting the savages, when those they sent us were little better, if not worse.”

It was a turn toward better hopes, though in a singular way, when, some years later, “maids of virtuous education, young, handsome, and well recommended” were forwarded, as a consignment to Virginia, to become the wives of the colonists. The personal charges to the future husbands were “from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, or even more,” for each, to meet the expenses of importation.²

The French policy was unfortunately marked, as well as the English, for the good of the colonies and of the natives. Not many of the male colonists went out as self-moved, willing, and energetic. By certain indirect government processes they were gathered in squads and shipped, mostly bound to service for a limited time after arrival. Many of them were so characterized, as “persons of little conscience and almost no religion,” as to call out the remonstrance: “It is important in beginning a new colony to sow good seed.” The soldiers sent out were of an indif-

¹ Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*. Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Philip Sidney.

² Bancroft's *United States*, v. i., p. 157. “Lord Rollfe obtained a grant of land in the St. John's River, Florida, to which he transplanted nearly 300 miserable females who were picked up in the purlieus of London.”

ferent class at home, and after some service in Canada were tempted by bounties to settle in the country. "But if the colony was to grow from within, the new settlers must have wives. . . . Girls for the colony were taken from the hospitals of Paris and of Lyons. . . . Officers as well as men wanted wives; and Talon asked for a consignment of young ladies. . . . In 1667 he writes: 'They send us 84 girls from Dieppe and 25 from Rochelle.'" Many of the women consigned were said to be of doubtful virtue — "a great deal of *canaille* of both sexes." The total number of girls thus consigned between 1665 and 1673, inclusive, was about 1,000.¹

The first knowledge of New Spain was obtained by Spanish travelers in 1536, and for three centuries that country has been explored, invaded, marauded, civilized and Christianized under Spanish authority. And now, as to the wandering population of that country, "the lapse of three centuries has neither raised nor lowered their position in civilization." As to the settled population, they "were encountered by the Spaniards three and a third centuries ago, in the same localities where they now are found, and with the same manners and customs as to-day." In 1880 we ourselves found families there with domestic life the same as three hundred years ago; and worshipping congregations with the mixed faith and ceremonial of the Spaniard and Montezuma. Both the family and the congregation were in buildings antedating the foundation of St. Augustine. In the area of tilled land, civil enjoyment, morality, and family uprightness, they have gone backward since De Vaca and Coronado and Oñate introduced to them the manners and customs of Europeans.²

The religious colonization of California by the Spanish is in the same line of policy. The Franciscans planted missions on the coast between San Francisco and San Diego, covering a belt about 500 miles long and 40 deep. The first was founded in 1769 and the last in 1823 — in all 21. The padres were both spiritual and temporal lords, and they gathered the Indians within the several missions as on reservations, and finally to the number of 18,683. These were both Christian converts and ranch servants, and greatly enriched the double lords. For instance, in 1825 the Mission of San Francisco, a range of large extent, owned 76,000 head of cattle, 79,000 sheep, and 3,000 horses. "Both men and women

¹ Parkman's *The Old Régime in Canada*, chapter xiii.

² *A Political Problem: New Mexico and the New Mexicans*. By an Officer of the Army. Pp. 31. 1876.

were required to work in the fields every day, except those who were carpenters, blacksmiths, or weavers. None of them were taught to read or write, except a few who were selected to form a choir to sing and play music for each mission. The only instruments were the violin and guitar. They never received any payment for their labor, except food and clothing, and instruction in the Catechism. The single men and women were locked up in separate buildings every night. Both sexes were severely punished with the whip if they did not obey the missionaries, or other white men in authority. . . . Both men and women were flogged or put into the stocks if they refused to believe or to labor."¹

Naturally, and of necessity, these colonies were regarded by the rude natives as samples of that outside Christendom which was coming in from an unheard-of world and offering them a new religion and new modes of life. It is not necessary to remark on the grave and prolonged misfortune to Christianity in being thus sampled and offered in pagan lands.

It is obvious how nearly impossible it would be for colonies and settlements of such germs, English, French, and Spanish, to deal fairly with the surrounding natives or tribes, and elevate and civilize them.

Then, too, it should be considered, that many who emigrate over the limits of civilization are not those who carry civilization with them. Richer in expectations than possessions, and hanging loosely upon society, and not at all seeking "a faith's pure shrine," they are quite as likely to damage as to benefit the pagan aborigines. Few men were better qualified to speak to this point, concerning North America, than the first governor of the Upper Louisiana, after its cession to the United States. "The Indians are what they were when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, except those who have had any considerable intercourse with the whites, which has invariably tended to debase and corrupt them."² And to this agrees the judgment of one of the best of Western historians: "When the tide of emigration sets strong toward the wilderness occupied by the native tribes, a large proportion of the most lawless and worthless part of the population is carried in advance of the older settlements like drift-wood upon a swollen river. Hence it is almost impossible

¹ *The Natural Wealth of California.* By Titus Fye Cronise. Pp. 256. 1868.

² *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana.* By Major Amos Stoddard. Pp. 410. Philadelphia, 1812.

for the civil authorities to restrain acts of lawless violence in such persons on the extreme confines of civilization."¹

The relations of European Christianity to the pagan peoples of the Old World offer a very practical as well as painful study. What Spain did in the New World to import and establish the gospel has already been shown by allusions. She is in no higher honor in the Old World for work of this kind, while entitled to noble credit in making her type of Christianity keep pace with, where it did not lead, her commerce and colonization. She carried abroad, in her discoveries, invasions and conquests, the best religion she had at home, and as good as the age offered; and we must not reproach those earlier ages, near to mediæval times, with not being the nineteenth century. The historic fact, however, must go on record, that Christianity, as "a pioneer of the life that now is," made but little improvement on the comforts of the native religions which Spain sought to displace. While her colonial subjects in Asia and Africa number 5,000,000 and more, the little Christian light among them is but a struggling dawn from their pagan night. The failure is from such causes as Brougham assigned for the failure of the Spanish settlements in South America: "Spain could not send over to the New World the far greater treasures of good laws, wise institutions, the inestimable treasures of civil and religious freedom."²

Probably few conquests have been more atrocious and brutal than those of the Spanish in their invasions of uncivilized lands from Pizarro and Cortez until now, making the survey backward or forward as one will; and usually the alternative for acceptance was the cross or the sword.

In her colonies, and in countries under her protectorate, France has a population of 9,250,000, the quality and extent of whose Christianity are at once suggested by some of their names: as, Cochin China, India, Senegambia, Gaboon, Tahiti. Of her twenty foreign possessions, seven of them date back to 1679 and earlier years. The evangelizing progress will seem exceedingly slow and imperfect, even for Romanism, till one considers by what hard processes, and most offensive to the natives, France gained supremacy in those pagan and Mohammedan lands. Two cases of invasion and attempted subjugation, now in process, may be taken as mild types of her earlier aggressions, when wars for conquest were more barbaric.

¹ Monette's *His. Mississippi Valley*. Harpers. 1846. Vol. i., p. 369.

² Speech in Parliament on the Ashburton Treaty, 1846.

In 1882 France matured her longing ambitions, dating from 1642, to bring the government of Madagascar under her protectorate — a mild term for sovereignty. The Hova government protested and resisted; the protest of the civilized world was stronger, and the pagan and undeveloped islanders were for a little time saved from the grasp of a nominally gallant and Christian nation. Only their inferiority made the French attempt possible, and therefore the more dishonorable. For generations the word Christian is doomed to be offensive to those idolaters, while the end of the invasion is not yet. At latest dates farther marauding on Madagascar, and on a broader scale, was in preparation in the French Chambers.

In 1861 France gained position in Cochin China or Anam, in which Tonquin is a large province. The year following, under stress of war, the southern provinces were ceded, by treaty, to France. Of course, there was French aggression, and of course, Anamese resistance, till formal war opened, in 1882, which closed the following year by the treaty of Hué, in which the whole of Anam — a territory much larger than New England — was practically resigned to France. China had claimed to be the ancestral protector of Anam, and indirectly encouraged and aided the Anamese against the French invasion, for which France claimed heavy damages. In 1884 France gained, by dictation, a treaty, by which China yielded all claim over Anam, and specially Tonquin, one of its subdivisions. Before the treaty was ratified and the Chinese troops had withdrawn the French advanced to take possession and were resisted, with the death of twenty-two men. France demanded an indemnity of \$50,000,000, an extortionate amount, and without proclamation renewed the war.

A few incidents may be stated to show the position of the parties and the tone of the struggle. When France offered a treaty of her own drawing in the harbor of Hué, and was refused by the king of Cochin China, she bombarded the capital, drove the king from his throne, broke up the legitimate dynasty of Anam, set up a king of her choice, and secured the ratification of her own treaty, under cover of artillery. When the king, as a French protégé and the enemy of his country, died of poison, and revolution followed at Hué, France bombarded it and slaughtered the citizens in simple massacre. The "London Times" states that the battle lasted only seven minutes, when the Chinese fleet ceased to fire and struck; but no surrender was allowed to disabled and sinking ships. For about four hours the French continued the

massacre. A French officer, and in the action, gives a painful and most revolting description of the carnage of those four hours. "The beaten Anamites were cooped up in the burning village," and could escape fire only by running the gauntlet of the French guns. "We saw them halting at the end of the village with singed hair and garments." When they rushed off, "it was a fine sight to see streams of bullets sweeping down upon the fugitives, which mowed them down by dozens." On the river "the men amused themselves counting the dead, fifty on the left, eighty on the right." Then they rushed on the wounded on the shore. "Some were crouching in holes, others were feigning death, while others, at the last gasp, were stretching out their hands, pleading for mercy. Our men slaughtered them with bayonets, or brained them with the butt ends of their muskets." The French report a loss of six men!

It is difficult to speak justly and mildly of this French movement in Madagascar and on the continent. From the outset the presence of France, claiming local rights as against the natives and their governments, was an intrusion; and any movement in force was an invasion. The assumption to take lands and offices and cities against the protests of hereditary owners and traditional and acknowledged authorities was national robbery. On the highway of nations imperial France challenged the weaker power to stand and deliver. To plead a treaty right is the plea of a burglar, on a contract signed by his victim under a revolver. She has lapsed a hundred and fifty years into some of the Indian barbarities of the old French War, and by her greed for territory and power and glory, and by her gross injustice and brute force in subjugating the weak and defenseless, she has thrown the moral sympathy of Christendom in favor of the heathen.

Great Britain was two hundred and thirty-one years in gaining her possessions in India, ending her acquisitions there in 1856. The territory gained is seven times the area of Great Britain and Ireland, and has almost six times the population. Over this immense territory and population the British crown has the entire control of legislation, and the administration of law is carried on by public officers under the control of the home government. The revenues of the East India Company in 1850 were \$135,000,000 a year. The annexations under Dalhousie, as president of the East India Company, yielded \$20,000,000 a year. Under Cornwallis, of pleasant Yorktown memories, the land of 30,000,000 of people, hereditary owners and cultivators, was forcibly and without com-

pensation taken from them to constitute a land aristocracy, subservient to the company. They fought the battle of Plassey against the French to establish a rebel and rival as nabob of Bengal over the legitimate ruler, charged \$6,000,000, and took the pay in territory. This play between rival princes and warring provinces, taking the side of the weaker, making it victorious and at the same time obligated to the English and dependent on them, was a fruitful policy for two centuries. It was the play which failed in the American colonies. They confiscated all private lands in Bengal, and leased them at the highest rates for the company. After gaining a protectorate over tribal divisions, they sold them, as if owners in fee-simple. They resorted to extortion and even torture to raise large sums of money. The attempted defense of his own provinces cost Tippoo Sahib one half of Mysore and \$16,000,000, and afterward his life. The English vested the government of all Mysore in British residents. They compelled heirs-apparent, under a regency, to sign away their rights for annuities, and when male heirs of near kin to the crown died they seized the thrones. The whole English seizure of India is best told by the Records of the House of Lords on the Hastings trial. For seven years the case of Warren Hastings — twelve years governor-general of India — was before that body. The close investigation of his case, as well as of the East India case in general, ran through one hundred and forty-five days. Of course, India, in a trial before an English court when England owned all the interest in contest, lost her case. It will be a century or two yet before Christian missions will cease to feel the repulse from the 200,000,000 of India whose ancestral homes were invaded and despoiled by foreigners whose religion is now offered to them.

A fact closely related should here be added. The English had the monopoly of the production of opium in India and wished for China as a market. China resisted, even up to prohibition and a stringent "Maine law" making it contraband. The English offered a heavy revenue to China if she would legalize the traffic, and a "heathen" emperor replied to the "Christian" merchant: "Nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people." Failing in negotiation, the English defy the law and force their opium over the boundary, when Commissioner Lin seizes and destroys, as contraband, 20,283 chests. The "opium war" follows, pagan China is humbled, and is forced to throw open five ports to British trade and residence, cede the island of Hong Kong unconditionally to the English, pay

\$12,000,000 for her vain struggle to save her people from the "vice and misery" of the hated traffic, and \$6,000,000 to indemnify the English smuggler for the opium destroyed. Did ever success so humiliate a Christian nation before the heathen, or bar a missionary Christianity among pagans? It would be exceedingly painful and depressing to know what per cent. of missionary money now sent to China is narcotized by the pagan memories of 1843. It was lately the wail of a repulsed Christianity, when two hundred and thirty-one missionaries, representing all the missionary boards and societies of Great Britain and the United States operating in China, laid a petition before the British House of Commons for the suppression of the opium trade.

It must not be supposed that this topic is only historic, and unpractical for to-day, because old illustrations have mainly been used. The same usages to-day confront an extending Christianity and missionary work with some of its greatest obstacles. Christian missions in the New Hebrides, beginning in 1848, have lifted up those thousands of nude cannibals to a hopeful civil and religious state; but now a French commercial company organizes to steal the natives for its sugar plantations in New Caledonia, and is proposing to colonize the New Hebrides with 25,000 convicts. In 1877 eminent English merchants gained the sovereignty of vast tracts of territory in the northern section of Borneo, and now a company is chartered with full national powers to fly its own civil flag and have the monopoly of trade in opium, tobacco, salt, and other staples of commerce. Of course we recall at once the East India Company and the Hudson Bay Company, and what they did for the civilization and Christianization of the natives whom they subdued and despoiled. While we are waiting to see whether civilization and the gospel of peace and good will toward men will follow war ships and cavalry and artillery into Egypt and the Basuto Land and the Transvaal and Zululand and Tonquin, our attention is fixed on an international occupation of the Congo Valley and Central Africa generally. The nations are the same which raided America when it was new to Europe. Of course, we remember and still notice the results on the aborigines of the New World, and ask if similar results are to follow in New Africa. Anxieties are deepened by the fact that religious motives do not prevail now as then in planting out colonies. If the Congo Valley and the Soudan are entered for francs and dollars and pounds sterling, Christian missions in the next generation will have the same expensive and

disadvantageous and discouraging labors there which they have had in India and Asia Minor and China. A fact, rather more typical than less, furnished by Prescott, hints to us how European and commercial civilization, made ardent by religion, took the natives of the New World in hand; and he who presumes that such policies of violence have ceased on the obscure borders, where a trading and turbid civilization is flowing in on barbarism, would probably change his presumption after reading the border history of the America and Asia and Africa of to-day. When Narvaez was making that savage conquest of Cuba he captured Hatney, a chief, who had fled from the Christian invasion of St. Domingo. "When urged to embrace Christianity that his soul might find admission to heaven, he inquired if the white men would go there. On being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed: 'Then I will not be a Christian, for I would not go again to a place where I must find men so cruel.'"¹

This grouping of indicative facts now turns us back to the solving of the nebula of seven questions with which this paper opened. It is primary to consider whether a civilizing nation is properly under a code of morals. Does a nation lie under obligation, in the matter of right and money, as does a small municipality, or family, or individual? If moral obligation decreases as power increases, it is plain that a nation or national government may rise superior to what passes for equity, justice, or rectitude between man and man in civilized life. The principality of Monaco embraces six square miles and has a population of 7,000. France environs it with an area of 202,000 square miles and a population of 36,000,000. Is there any moral code or any system of national ethics which should prevent either from conquering and absorbing the other? Do superior numbers or acres enhance the moral right of France to do it? Is it at all a question of population or of territory, whether this may be done? Does civilization in a superior power expose or protect the inferior? Of course, these questions awaken but one sentiment, and gain but one answer, in our moral nature.

But suppose a barbarous tribe or nation is evidently making but a poor use of the natural and acquired values in its territory, and so is a weak, perhaps worthless, auxiliary among the nations in all this toil and unrest for what we call progress. May it be justly evicted by the strong and progressive neighboring nation, or may some holy alliance, a *posse gentium*, execute a writ of

¹ Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i., p. 221.

ejectment? Ethically speaking, does failure to improve forfeit the right to hold? If so, what dividing and confiscating lines will this logic run among farms and water privileges? It is applied, however, only among imbecile and pagan people, afar off, who are assumed not to have rights. However, the highest moral as well as political economy concedes the principle, that when the burden of population demands it for human comfort an Indian family must give up the fifty square miles and the game suppers, in order that half a million of people may live on the meats and grains which these miles may be made to produce. And perhaps, by and by, the noble lord will be expected to yield his square miles and venison for the same reason.

Allowing, as must be, that some unutilized gifts of nature, lying within pagan possessions, should be put into an active place in the industries of the world, the grave problem remains to be solved, how to do it. Property, law, and right among the uncivilized existed before Justinian or Grotius defined them, and they still exist and are recognized where those eminent jurists are unknown. It is the question of civilization and of Christianity how to utilize those gifts of nature, now an unproductive deposit, with all due civil and moral regard to the rights inherited and won by those now in possession. The question will be best answered on the supposition that civilized white men occupy the undeveloped resources. A grist and saw mill engrosses the outlet of Winnepesaukee — owned and controlled not by an Indian tribe, but by a white family. But the birth and life and growth of Lowell depend on a change in the ownership and control of that outlet. May the old mill be attacked with artillery, and shelled out, and the unprogressive owners be subdued and brought to a treaty by Gatling guns? Winnepesaukee's outlet is on all rivers which rise in uncivilized lands and run toward good sites for Christian cities. Does civilization allow violence, and may an inferior people be forced by a superior into a higher grade? The principle of compulsory education is practiced for children, and it is an open question whether the advanced nations may thus put a tardy one to school. They surround and penetrate it with improvements; stimulate its ambitions by suggesting developments; advance funds and guarantee subsidies; envelope it in the meshes of diplomacy; send warships as collectors of interests in arrears; take securities in liens on revenues and lands; and finally suggest insolvency. Then, under the euphemistic and benevolent term of protectorate, the nation or province or tribe disappears in one of

these coöperative nations, called "Allies" sometimes. By and by the same thing is done for another of them, and so the balance of power is preserved, and a higher civilization is promoted all round.

Conceding that upward movements should be made among all the barbarous and semi-civilized peoples, are these common processes of force and manœuvre and seizure necessary and justifiable? Two things should be specially noted: The result shows mainly in francs and pounds, and dollars and thalers, gained by the operation; and rarely is the nation thus elevated, *ab extra*, found afterward in its integrity and autonomy. With all this civil and Christian endeavor — the glory of the century — the number of civilized and independent nations does not much increase. Since this century came in — so full of civil and humane and religious growth — France has added eleven to her colonial system of governments, and England has added twenty-four. Yet not one case is recalled where a colonial possession has been "protected" and developed through tutelage to independence. During the same period the United States has increased the public domain more than fivefold, and formed about one thousand treaties with aboriginal tribes or nations; and, with the exception of a few petty semi-sovereignities, it has yet to furnish its first Indian State. The government did design two Indian States, in which the divers tribes should be gathered, and one was marked off in the Southwest in 1835 — the present Indian Territory — the other was to be in the Northwest, but was never laid out. In the former there are the crumbling remnants of about forty tribes — an ethnological collection, and promising to become antiquarian — of extinct aborigines. The United States has no more to show than France or England in adding to the number of civilized states.

The questions recur, and will with increasing force, whether the uncivilized have any rights which the civilized are bound to respect, and whether a barbarous race can be civilized without being at the same time denationalized and absorbed by the nation that civilizes it. If one skirt the dim line between civilization and barbarism which meanders along the borders in America and Europe and Asia, and looks for new states and autonomies among the local and native races, he will the better take the force of these two preceding questions.

It is still in doubt with many whether Christianity alone is adequate to lift up and organize and civilize a rude and pagan people. It has not, as yet, had a fair opportunity to test its abil-

ity in this line, and probably never will, since the energy and greed of commerce have led off into wild lands and constructed governments for their trade as they pushed forward.

The plea of the stronger, that he is in possession by treaty, is often but an aggravation of original invasion. Arrangements which would expel a man from a board of trade ought to have excluded many a contractor from councils of clouted Indians and Algerines and Afghans. Quoting the Roman Pandects and Vattel in defense of the seizure and possession of a foreign land against a Hottentot, or Arab, or Sepoy, or Sitting Bull, is too absurd to be esteemed sharp even. Many treaties initiated by merchants, and spread on parchment by the "high contracting parties," by which a very few governments hold so much of this world, should be ranked with contracts with children and imbeciles and with such as are not of a sound and disposing mind. Of contracts made under duress, only a reference to their injustice is needed. A party duressed cannot be held in law or equity, yet many a forced treaty, which would not convey twenty shillings in court, has conveyed thousands of square miles, with their inhabitants, because there was no high court that could entertain pleadings on exceptions. It is a very difficult thing for barbarians and pagans to gain a status in court, and not often when there is a Warren Hastings is there at the same time an Edmund Burke.

These commercial aggressions on the uncivilized, and these seizures of territory by nations ambitious to enlarge their domain, affect most seriously the propagation of spiritual Christianity. The ryots of India do not distinguish between the Church of England and the English government, and when set adrift from hereditary cultivation of the soil, or brought to the verge of starvation by reduced wages and increased taxes, they are in no good mood to take the religion of their oppressors. Two hundred years of wrong, which makes even the enduring Hindoo groan, readily accounts for the strangely slow growth of spiritual Christianity in southern Asia. The entire English system there puts the native masses at a disadvantage, and hence Christianity also. Under so grave a charge, it is more agreeable, as it is fitting, that the Englishmen should speak. The "Westminster Review" of 1863 says: "Let us begin to conciliate those who have good cause to detest us, and consider it a nobler thing to govern humanely and well, than to acquire fresh territory at the expense of our honor, and by disregarding every rule of law and every human right." The "Review" quotes the Duke of Wellington to this effect: "Wher-

ever we spread ourselves we increase this evil. We throw out of employment and means of subsistence all who have hitherto managed the revenue, or commanded or served in the armies, and [we] have plundered the country." It also quotes from a communication to Robert Southey by an East India officer: "If our empire in that country were overthrown the only monuments which would remain of us would be broken bottles and corks. . . . In the interior we are hated. There is a grinding system of exaction; we take nine tenths; and the natives feel the privation of honors and places of authority more than the weight of imposts. . . . We may not gain their love, yet we need not continue to merit their unmitigated hate."

Some remarks of the "Edinburgh Review" need a place in this connection: "There are no such avenues to advancement opened to them [the natives] as stirred the ambition and stimulated the exertions of their forefathers. They cannot attain in the civil service of the state to a station more elevated than that of an ill-paid rural magistrate, or a clerk in one of the public offices. . . . Even the status of a practicing attorney in the courts of law seems to be denied to them. . . . As to the army, it offers no prizes for which it would be worth while for a native gentleman to strive. . . . By the native gentry of India — and it is a great mistake to suppose that India has not its gentry of ancient lineage and proud reminiscences — the rule of the English is regarded not only without favor, but with settled detestation." Metcalf's history is quoted: "The main evil of our system is, the degraded state in which we hold the natives. . . . We exclude them from every situation of trust and emolument; we confine them to the lowest offices, with scarcely a bare subsistence. We treat them as an inferior race of beings." The "Edinburgh" adds: "They have no share in making laws for themselves, little in administering them, except in very subordinate offices; they can rise to no high station, civil or military; they are everywhere regarded as an inferior race. . . . Other conquerors had overrun their territories before, assumed supreme power, and dispensed patronage; but they did so upon the spot, and excluded no man, of whatever race descended, from a share in it. We send out our youth by shoals from England to amass wealth, and exercise power for a season; each batch returning to England, when it has satisfied its own wishes, only that it may be succeeded by another. What bond of good feeling can exist between the hundred and twenty millions whom we thus govern and the few thousands of white-faced men

whom we appoint to plunder while they profess to govern and protect them?"

If this was said years ago (1853), it must be considered that no one generation could change such oppressive customs and obliterate their bitter memories; nor indeed has there been much effort. In 1883 the Ilbert Bill was introduced into Parliament to have native criminal judges in India with such jurisdiction and authority as the same officers have at home. The "Times" led off in the condemnation of the bill, and England followed, and a war of races will follow.

Here is a nation, or cluster of nations, aged and historic with its dynasties long ago, even when England was forest and savage. Its religion was older than English Christianity is to-day. Now, in the face of all this commercial and civil and social abuse, organized and irresistible, and grinding across Southern Asia like Arctic ice-floes, they are invited to accept the religion of these invaders and oppressors. They know it only by those fruits of a nominal Christianity. It is a grievous wrong, and to be immensely regretted, that the East India Company should have put this odium on Christianity, and such a painful and obstructing burden on American and English boards of missions.

In this connection a reference should be made to the effects of the Christian régime in the East on the Christianization of the Mahometans. The reference must cover the treatment of the Moslem not only in India, but in Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, the Soudan, and other parts of Africa more or less approached by Europeans; and it must embrace not only Great Britain, but the other nominally Christian powers of Europe. The days of the crusaders and the wars for the Holy Sepulchre are over, but not for the cross and the crescent. The middle ages are not wholly gone by.

"Winter lingering chills the lap of May." It was a terrible mistake that Christianized Rome retained her pagan sword, unconverted, to extend her new religion; and grievous pity it is, that the nineteenth century puts musketry and artillery and iron-clads to the front, and stretchers and the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer in the rear. Are theological and military schools so closely related, and are Hardee's "Tactics" even yet to lead St. Paul's as the gospel goes into all the world? No doubt the remark is true that the turbaned Moslem has learned to respect a European hat; but it is rather a saying of a board of trade than of the holy evangelists. For like reason one re-

spects a volcano, or the approaching cyclone. How many turbans have been removed to give place to the Christian hat? The East India Company have had to do with 50,000,000 of them, but converts to Christianity from among them are not much tabulated. In 1821 American missions were started in Syria, and reliable report says that the first baptism of a Mahometan was in 1871 — fifty years for one convert. Very true, apostasy from the Prophet has been death, on which the short logic has been: Perhaps as well die at the hands of the faithful for apostatizing as at the hands of the infidel for not apostatizing. Wolseley has withdrawn from the Soudan; how soon now may a missionary of the Church of England go in? The theory of missions for the conversion of the Mahometans — one hundred and sixty millions of them — is a question of the future, and complicated almost hopelessly by the commerce of nominal Christendom. With the possible exception of the North American Indians, always so crowded back by the Spanish and French and English and American civilization, no people have been so repelled and quarantined from Christianity as the Moslems.

Christianity has been burdened with the objection that its tardy growth weakens the claim to its divine origin. The objection is not superficial, nor necessarily captious, but its force lies in the perversion of Christianity. Too many have accepted Vattel's assumption, in his "Right of Nations," that our religion is merely a political system. Kings and cabinets have used it as such for national aggrandizement and secular ambitions, and so the system of Christ, so pure in itself and so full of equity and love and mercy as the expansion of the Golden Rule, has been compelled to be responsible for the invasions and oppressions and national robberies which have been achieved by a nominal and political and mercenary Christianity. A sense of equity and fairness and honor, in even a heathen mind, repels such a system, and so makes the growth of our holy religion very tardy and laborious in pagan lands, and exposes its divine origin to impeachment.

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A GENERAL VIEW OF THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF GERMANY.¹

AFTER a thorough investigation of the subject it is still difficult to form even a general conception of the religious condition of a great nation, scattered over a large territory, and with much diversity of spiritual life in the various sections and churches. When we consider the fact that the sources of the religious life are deep and hidden; that the factors which enter into it are numerous and complicated; and that many of its manifestations are in secret or of such a character that a foreigner cannot at once appreciate them,—we can form an estimate of the value of correspondents who sit in judgment on the religion of a nation whose language they do not understand, whose history and institutions they have not studied, and of whose spirituality they know nothing but what they infer from a few weeks of superficial observation inspired, perhaps, by prejudice. The religious life of the United States is continually denounced in Europe as superficial, hypocritical, puritanical, a mere Sunday formality or luxury; its real power is estimated by the corruption in official life, here almost unknown; by the fearful records of crime and the laxity of justice; by the management of large cities as reported by our own papers; by the character of a large part of our press, admitted into families with all its disgusting and polluting details of crime; by the prevailing worldliness, which has even crept into the churches and has given us the reputation of being practical materialists; by our numerous sects, whose rivalries are supposed to destroy the unity

¹ This "General View" is based on observations of religious movements during a residence of five years in Berlin and an active participation in some of them; on the official reports of ecclesiastical authorities and official statistics; on addresses and reports at religious conferences; on articles in the religious and secular press discussing the condition of the church; and on conversations with ministers and laymen from different parts of the empire. At the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Copenhagen, Professor Christlieb delivered an address on "Religious Indifference and the Best Means to overcome It," in which he was supposed by many to have given too pessimistic a view. He, however, claims that his subject did not require a general discussion of the religious condition, but of the more unfavorable features. Rev. Mr. Baumann gave a report on the general religious condition of Germany, which was much more hopeful. I have used both addresses, and also one by Prof. Dr. Stade, delivered at Giessen in 1883, on "The Condition of the Evangelical Church in Germany." For the statistics I am indebted to *Allgemeines Kirchenblatt für das evangelische Deutschland* and Oettingen's *Moralstatistik*.

of Christ's kingdom; by the appalling statistics of intemperance; by Mormonism, spiritualism, and similar excrescences, which are regarded as peculiarly American, and as striking evidences of our real godlessness in spite of all our professions. A German paper contains this correspondence from New York: "In Prussia, according to the statistical report, there is one murder to every 85,000 inhabitants; in the United States there was, in 1883, one to every 32,000, and in 1884, one to every 16,000; so that last year there were relatively more than five times as many murders as in Prussia." Where now such statistics, as is often the case, are made the ground for estimating the general moral and religious condition of a land we can easily see what inferences must be drawn. A German writer, who admits the activity of the American churches, says: "But the influence of this high tide of Christian life on society is equal to zero. Nowhere else so often as yonder is piety the cloak of selfishness, ecclesiastical zeal a business advertisement or a sport; and if to-day a religious movement passes through the land, to-morrow it vanishes, leaving no trace except in the formation of new sects." Not a few pious Germans congratulate themselves that they have not our religious condition. But we pay them richly in their own coin; and Americans who are here long enough to learn something of the condition of religious life are not a little indignant at those of their countrymen whose Christian ethics does not require a knowledge of the things they report. Must Christian honesty cease when we judge Christian brethren in a foreign land?

Dr. Warneck, the eminent authority on missions, said recently¹ that he has repeatedly had occasion to complain of the ignorance of Germany's trans-channel and trans-oceanic cousins respecting its religious condition in general and its missionary operations in particular; and also of the judgment based on this ignorance and pronounced against "our fatherland, as if it were half-heathen, ruled by infidelity, or at least controlled by rationalism." He cites an American missionary journal which lately gave an account of a Continental missionary conference at Bremen and reported as present "such men as Frabri, . . . Doctors Schreiber and Wangemann of the Berlin mission, Kelth, . . . Kussler of the Balse mission." Although these are all well-known laborers in behalf of missions, not a single name in the list is correct. The account also speaks of the significance of the assembly,

¹ *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* for February, a journal edited by Dr. Warneck in connection with Drs. Christlieb and Grundemann.

and regards it as evidence that there is real progress "in the very midst of the Continental rationalism." Dr. Warneck says: "And yet not only does a considerable part of English and American theology live on this 'Continental rationalism,' but the same has also placed many believing men in the church and missionary service of England and America. When will this false judgment cease? And when will they at last learn in England and America to see also the rationalism and unbelief in their own countries, and not merely in the land of Luther, Francke, Zinzendorf, Tholuck, Fliedner, Wichern, and Harms?"

In 1880 the German Empire had a population of 45,234,061. Besides 561,610 Jews and 60,000 Old Catholics, there were, in round numbers, 28,000,000 Protestants and 16,000,000 Catholics. The Protestants in the state churches are composed of Lutherans and Reformed, for the most part (as in Prussia and other states) united and forming what is called the Evangelical or United Church. There are various small bodies, usually designated sects, the most active being Methodists, Baptists, and Irvingites. It is the condition of the state churches which is considered in this article.

The historical development, without which the religious life in Germany cannot be properly estimated, strikes its roots into the Reformation. The principles of that great movement; the dead orthodoxy which followed; the desolations of the Thirty Years' War, from the effects of which it took a century or more to recover; the early inspiration of pietism, and its later degeneracy; the deadening influence of rationalism during the last, and the peculiar religious development of this, century, must all be considered in a thorough study of our subject. In these old historic lands a long process of development petrifies traditions, gives institutions greater rigidity than in new countries, and makes for all forms of life grooves and ruts which are not easily left. Religion is particularly liable to be affected by this conservatism.

The union of church and state has been a potent factor in shaping the character of the former. History but too clearly shows that the church is hampered when not permitted to manage its own spiritual affairs and to develop freely its religious life. Opposition to the government is apt to be transferred also to the church, sometimes called contemptuously "a police force" of the government. A pastor may be appointed who is repugnant to the majority, and numerous other causes may produce alienation, so that, as is admitted, the attendance at church is not necessarily a

correct gauge of the religious condition of the people. The theological teachers are appointed not by the church but by the state, and may represent the *Cultus-Minister* rather than the faith of the church whose pastors they prepare. Many see the evils of the present condition of things and are making vigorous efforts to attain greater ecclesiastical freedom.

Besides the state control, the church has been too much a ministerial institution. Nowhere has the universal priesthood of believers been more clearly stated as a theory and more systematically ignored in practice. What wonder if an institution regarded as belonging peculiarly to the state and the ministry fails to develop the activity of the laity! But there is beginning to be a change in this respect.

Repeatedly have I heard it pronounced a marvel that, with the existing state of things, so much religion is still found among the people, and it is regarded as an evidence that at heart the German people are religious. In some places, especially in the large cities, the failure to provide for the religious needs is a sad comment on the present management. Thus one church built in Berlin (Moabit) in 1835, when the parish had 709 souls, is still the only church, though now there are 35,000 souls in the parish. The building seats 400 persons! Another parish with some 80,000 souls has a small church with about an equal seating capacity; but now a large church — but only one — is being erected. In Berlin, away from the centre, there are parishes with 100,000 souls or more with a single church and a few pastors. Other cities may be better provided than Berlin, but the increase of churches and pastors has been far from keeping pace with that of the population. Thus St. Gertrude Parish in Hamburg has 40,000 souls, and others may have still more.

The Continental Sunday, of course, has much influence on the religious life. It is largely a day of labor, pleasure, recreation, and crime. In Germany not only manufacturers and merchants, but also the government officials, often oblige their subordinates to work on Sunday, though Christians and Socialists have now joined hands in opposing this. With their meagre wages many of the poor are glad to work on that day to eke out a living; while others labor so hard during the week that they insist on making Sunday a day of recreation.

Among the more recent anti-evangelical tendencies are: modified forms of the old rationalism, some of its phases being thoroughly negative and destructive, often based on mere philo-

sophical assumptions, though styled exegetico-historical criticism; the pantheism of various philosophical schools; the godless pessimism of Schopenhauer and Hartmann; the materialistic tendencies in natural science, largely monopolized by the Continental development of Darwinism; and that carnal spirit misnamed socialism, being in reality selfishness deified, based on atheism, and intent on destroying the ethical and religious forces of society. A godless culture above and communism below have co-operated to banish spiritual objects, and to promote the secular and sensualistic spirit. These things, together with the unprecedented development of material interests, have substituted crass realistic for the former idealistic tendencies. Not so much in the force or virulence of attack on religion does this spirit reveal itself as in an immovable indifference to spiritual things. Other lands have the same spirit; but in not all is it so extensive, and in some it is opposed by greater spiritual vitality. The liberal press, largely under the control or influence of Jews, often reveals its animus by sneering at religion, or treating it as a factor which is no longer a dominant force. The strict censorship of the press, however, somewhat curbs this godless spirit, and for downright blasphemy the American press and platform furnish more illustrious examples than Germany. The papers here do not sink to the disgusting vulgarity of some of our sheets, and even liberals are horrified at the condition of the American press. The vilest sheet I have seen exposed in Berlin came neither from Germany nor from Paris, but across the Atlantic, — "The Police Gazette."

The normal life, physical, moral, and religious, is apt to escape attention; while disease, crimes, and pronounced irreligious tendencies are at once noticed and made subjects of statistics. So meagre are the religious statistics gathered in Germany that the temptation is strong to take the statistics of irreligion as the measure of the religion of the country, just as the statistics of crime and immorality are not seldom taken as the statistics of morality. The old proverb, that where God builds a church the devil builds a chapel beside it, may be true; but it is not quite clear how the statistics of the devil's chapel give the statistics of God's church. If the wheat and tares both grow, we cannot quite understand by what necromancy the nature of the wheat is to be learned in describing the character of the tares.

The religious life in the Evangelical Church varies greatly in different sections, often in the same neighborhood. There are country districts in which the old forms of piety are still main-

tained, but not a few country parishes have also been affected by religious indifference. In the smaller cities the condition is generally better than in the large ones; but in manufacturing districts the laborers usually take little or no interest in religion. The tendency of population to great centres is one of the signs of the times,¹ and large cities are generally in the worst moral and religious condition. While religion lost in prominence and influence, saloons and places of amusement and sensual gratification and crime greatly increased.² In many cases an earnest faith disappeared from the pulpit, and the pews were emptied. So forlorn had the condition become in various quarters that it could hardly be worse.

There are places of which this is still in a measure true, but they are not nearly so numerous as formerly. The low state of piety aroused the followers of Christ to a conviction of the needs of the church, and became the occasion of new zeal. Within the last ten years a marked change has taken place. The number of evangelical ministers has greatly increased, and Christlieb says that the rationalistic preachers "now consist of only a small minority in Germany." The pulpit has become more Biblical, more direct, and more practical, and many churches once empty are now filled. Even in liberal pulpits there is a great change, the sermons laying the stress on trust in God, the love of Christ, attachment to the church, missionary activity, and practical religion. At the recent meeting of the Protestant Association a liberal pastor from Bremen reported a development of religious activity in both the orthodox and liberal congregations in that city, and stated that the churches were mostly filled. And from all parts of the empire there are reports of increased attendance and interest at religious meetings on Sunday and during the week.

It would make a wrong impression to say that religion has suddenly passed from a very low to a flourishing state. There are more oases now, but there is still desert enough. Among the middle classes, as well as among the most cultured and the poorest, there prevails spiritual deadness, or at least there is a lack of

¹ Oettingen speaks of it as "the sickly tendency to cities." In 1801 the proportion of Parisians to the total of Frenchmen was as 1 to 49; in 1876 as 1 to 18.6. In the same years that of Londoners to the whole English population was as 1 to 17 and 1 to 9.3. In 1820 there was one inhabitant of Berlin to 57 Prussians; in 1880 1 to 21.

² This is true of other countries as well as Germany. Christlieb states that from 1860-1880 the population of Great Britain increased 28 per cent.; crime, 102; arrests for drunkenness, 95; begging, 180.

earnest faith. But that the lowest point has been reached, and that the downward has been changed to an upward course is generally admitted. Dr. Christlieb says: "God be praised; our time, with all the increase of darkness on the one hand, also shows an increase of light on the other; with all the ripening of the tares, it reveals at the same time a ripening and strengthening of the wheat, a constantly increasing force to resist the powers of darkness in many places, our German fatherland included; a growing number of evangelical witnesses to the truth; . . . a continual increase of institutions and associations, based on Christian faith and Christian love, to seek the lost, restore the wandering, and sustain the found. Yes, the growing power of inner missions at present already proves the possibility of attacking and overcoming the religious indifference and obtuseness in many points, even under circumstances the most unfavorable that can be conceived."¹ That a new spirit animates the Evangelical Church of Germany is admitted by foes and universally rejoiced in by friends.

That this change for the better is deep is evident from the fact that it has affected all departments of religious life. There is a forward movement along the whole line. The friends of religion have gained greatly in courage and hope, and consequently in inspiration to work.

The liberal papers, even if in the hands of Jews, show more respect for the Christian religion than formerly, which is, no doubt, to be explained by the change in the religious sentiment of the community. A press decidedly religious has also grown in numbers and influence. Thus the "*Sonntagsblatt*," of Stuttgart, has in a short time reached a circulation of 120,000; and the "*Ev. Sonntagsblatt*," of Berlin, six years old, 90,000. Last year a society in Berlin distributed 35,000 copies of a weekly religious journal, this year 71,500. A few years ago the distribution of sermons began in Berlin; now 73,000 copies are sent out every week, of which some 10,000 are distributed in this city.

The change in the religious literature is seen chiefly in the large

¹ Speaking also of the improvement which has begun in Germany, he says in the same address: "And the proof is furnished that quite irreligious circles, and even atheistic social democrats, may be reached by religion, and can be won back." Rev. Mr. Baumann said in his address: "Certain as it is that the trial was severe and that thousands fell and severed their connection with the living communion of faith, so certain is it, also, that the lowest point of humiliation has been passed. This we believe in common with all positive believers." Stade also recognizes the evidences of new religious life and zeal.

increase of practical and edifying books. The proportion of homiletical, pastoral, popular, apologetical, and devotional works is much greater than formerly. Practical literature, to reach the masses, a practical ministry, and a practical church are recognized as the great needs of the day. In accordance with this tendency there are also special efforts to make the laity more active. Laymen preside over religious conferences, and often deliver addresses in them. Thus a layman recently presided over a conference in which there were some three hundred ministers; two laymen, one of them the son of the celebrated philosopher Hegel, spoke on the best methods of training ministers; and another layman, professor of the Berlin University, spoke on socialism. Many of the religious efforts spring from voluntary agencies rather than directly from the organized church; and in the numerous voluntary religious associations laymen are among the most active members. The number of these laymen is comparatively small, but constantly increasing.

The marvelous growth of socialism has led to the establishment of a Christian Social Association in Berlin, which has gained considerable power. Similar associations have been organized in other places. Evangelists have also worked successfully among the masses, and Professor Christlieb has begun the work of training evangelists in the Johanneum, in Bonn. In the large parishes the pastors are overworked, and still cannot meet the religious needs. In some instances pious laymen are appointed as missionaries to visit the neglected and carry the gospel to their homes. Bible-women are also employed. The admirably organized deaconess institutes do a good work for the souls as well as the bodies of their patients. Not even an approximate estimate of the amount of religious work done by individuals and societies can be made; that it is most efficient is evident to all who study what the Germans call "Inner Missions."

These voluntary associations, which are in the Evangelical Church and yet rather a direct product of its spiritual life than of its organization as a state institution, are often overlooked by foreigners or not sufficiently studied; and this is one reason why the religious life is not properly estimated. Some of these voluntary Christian agencies I can barely mention, others I must omit because their mere mention would convey little meaning. The Sunday-school is flourishing; young men's Christian associations are energetic, and have received a new impulse by establishing one in Berlin after the American model; foreign missionary societies

are renowned for their number and zeal and efficiency, and for their superior literature; there are hospitals, asylums for orphans and for inebriates, homes for the aged, colonies and work-houses for the poor, Magdalen institutes, societies to help released prisoners and the like, all based on Christian principles. Oettingen, as well as others, calls attention to the new zeal manifested in all the departments of Christian benevolence.¹ A few years ago a general temperance society was established, which is organizing branches throughout Germany, is delivering addresses and circulating literature on the subject of intemperance; and thus an effort is made to arouse the people to a sense of the growing evils of intemperance.

The ecclesiastical authorities are also bestirring themselves. In their official documents appeal on appeal is made to the pastors to be faithful and diligent, and practical measures are adopted to meet the needs of the times. Recently the progress of sectarianism has engaged their attention, and various efforts are made so to increase the efficiency of the Established Church as to make the sects powerless. The same zeal is manifested at conferences. At an important conference at Eisenach, in 1884, the chief means advocated for checking the progress of sectarianism were the following: by preaching the pure word effectively and administering the sacraments scripturally; by competing with the sects in meeting the religious needs of the spiritual members of the church, particularly of the young; by faithful personal attention to souls, watching and instructing the wavering and the wanderers; by increasing the number of churches and pastors, and by maintaining or increasing the parochial order, particularly in the larger cities.

Unfortunately we have no complete statistics of the voluntary societies, among which are seen the most striking evidences of the new awakening. Then there is so much in their work which cannot be given in figures. The mania for figuring out results which are not subject to mathematical calculation has appropriately been termed "the statistical disease." But even aside from these inestimable elements, the religious statistics are very unsatisfactory, and strenuous efforts are made to induce the government to make them more complete.

Of the attendance at religious services we have few reliable statistics, but in large cities the number in proportion to the popu-

¹ Baumann speaks of the new life everywhere manifest in the work of "Inner Missions." He says, "There is a wonderful activity in all the German provinces as never before."

lation is small. In 1872 the persons at divine service in Baden, on a certain Sunday, were found to be somewhat over thirty per cent. in the country, while in the cities there were in some instances less than four per cent. In Berlin, some years ago, it was found that less than two per cent. of the Protestant population were in church on a given Sunday.¹ The figures correct a few years ago are, however, in many instances too low for to-day.

The Germans estimate attachment to the church largely according to the percentage of baptisms and the number of weddings and funerals with religious ceremonies. Since 1875, when civil marriage was introduced, all laws making baptism or religious ceremony at marriage and burial obligatory were abolished; the voluntary choice of these religious acts is therefore regarded as significant.

The percentage of baptisms to births of children of evangelical parents was 91.98 in 1875 in the old provinces of Prussia; in 1883 it was 93.98. Throughout the whole empire there has been a marked increase in the percentage since 1875. In 1882 it was as follows: Saxony, 95.71; Würtemberg, 99.26; Hesse, 98.13; Brunswick, 95.63; Saxe-Meiningen, 98.57; Gotha, 96.10; Coburg, 92.83; Anhalt, 95.81.

¹ Ottingen, p. 622. Christlieb gives interesting statistics of attendance at divine services in different countries. In Edinburgh less than one half of the inhabitants are regular attendants of religious services; in Glasgow, with a population of 705,000, on a very fine Sunday 112,688 persons were in church. In the larger cities of England 25 per cent. of the people attend; in the smaller ones about 40. It is said that in London 1,200,000 persons never enter a church. This number is largely composed of the laboring classes, of whom in many English cities 90 per cent. never visit church or chapel. In one poor district of London 88 adult persons out of a population of 2,290 attended divine service; in another, out of 246 families individuals from only 12 of them; in another, only 39 persons out of a population of 4,235. He estimates that in Berlin not many more than 20,000 to 25,000, out of an Evangelical population of about a million, or from two to three per cent., attend services regularly. But in 1872 the attendance was estimated (in Brockhaus's *Lexicon*) at only 1.8 per cent. Christlieb, however, regards Berlin as exceptional, though Hamburg is equally bad or worse, having, it is said, but 5,000 regular attendants out of a population of 300,000. If the statistics of all the religious meetings, Sunday-schools included, were taken, the percentage would, of course, be much greater.

I had just written the above when a religious paper came from America with the following: "A statistical clergyman of St. Louis finds that on a recent Sunday in that city 10,000 people went to church, while 40,000 went to Buffalo Bill's show, 20,000 to base-ball games, 20,000 to beer gardens, and 5,000 to hear Bob Ingersoll."

But this percentage would be increased if the baptisms by ministers not in the state church were added, particularly those by separatistic Lutheran pastors.

In Prussia the total number of marriages among Protestants, with religious ceremony, in 1883, was 96,997 out of a total of 106,847. In 1875 81.15 per cent. of the weddings had religious services; since then the number has regularly increased, till in 1882 it was 91.37. There was a slight decrease in 1883, in which year there was, however, an increase of mixed marriages (one party Protestant, the other Catholic) by Evangelical pastors.¹

The religious services at funerals in Prussia, from 1880-83 inclusive, were as follows: 211,682; 211,557; 223,426; 233,321.

In the statistics of these various religious acts Oettingen and others see a steady growth in attachment to the church and its institutions.

In the statistics of communicants, those who communed more than once a year are, I suppose, counted more than once. The percentage of communicants of the evangelical population was, in 1882: Prussia, 42.48; Bavaria, 64.47; Saxony, 48.22; Würtemberg, 53.51; Baden, 53.62; Hesse, 51.55. It was lowest in Hamburg, 8.91; next lowest in Bremen, 13.58.

In common with the general awakening, there has also been a large increase in the number of theological students. Formerly there was a surplus of candidates for the ministry, and many had to wait long for a vacancy; but then there was a decrease for a number of years; vacant parishes increased rapidly, many of them remaining vacant a long time. Recently there were 150 vacancies in Hanover; 120 in the province of Silesia; 70 in the duchy of Hesse; and many others throughout Germany. But now the number of theological students is rapidly on the increase. In the old provinces of Prussia this increase has been as follows: 1877-78, 61; 1878-79, 72; 1879-80, 131; 1880-81, 173; 1881-82, 191; 1882-83, 200; 1883-84, 219.

While there were 559 in the winter of 1876-77, there were 1,606 in 1883-84, or nearly three times as many. In the whole empire there were 1,542 in the winter of 1876-77; but in 1883-84 there were 3,621. Heidelberg, with its negative tendency, had the smallest number, 42; Leipzig had the most, 669; Halle, 533; Berlin, 530; Erlangen, 363.

¹ Oettingen gives the percentage of marriages among Protestants without religious ceremony, in Prussia, as follows: 1875, 18.55; 1876, 16.91; 1877, 14.86; 1878, 13.68; 1879, 12.39; 1880, 11.70.

The statistics of recent years also show that throughout the empire more have come from Catholicism to Protestantism than *vice versâ*. So far as reported, there came to the Evangelical Church in 1882 1,659 persons, while 213 went over to the Catholic.

In Austria the numbers were : to Protestantism from all bodies, 817 ; to Catholicism from all bodies, 410. In Prussia (old provinces) 1,814 Catholics became Protestants in 1883 ; 1,447 in 1882. In 1883, 161 Protestants became Catholics ; in 1882, 152. In 1883, 157 Jews entered the Evangelical Church, while 10 Protestants became Jews.

The numerous unmistakable evidences of improvement are, however, only the beginning of a new growth. The significance of the whole consists in the fact that the downward tendency has ceased and a strong upward one has taken its place. If it continues at its present rate we may soon expect to see the effect on all departments of public life, as it is now seen in the various religious activities. One who surveys the whole field and fathoms the depth of the various movements is prepared for the statement of Rev. Mr. Baumann in summing up the results of his investigation : "Thus the life of the German Church presents a picture of stirring activity, so that ours will perhaps appear to later ages as a period of blessed prosperity."

J. H. W. Stuckenberg.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

EDITORIAL.

PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY.

VI. THE CHRISTIAN.

THE question is continually recurring as to the legitimacy or propriety of claiming the Christian name and affirming the Christian hope for persons of exceptional character, irrespective of their Christian experience and faith. Some person, Jew or Gentile, becomes conspicuous for his virtues or charities. In the event of his death the questions are quite sure to be put to the Evangelical Church, What do you call this man, and, What of his future? The reply which is made is always according to the dictates of the moral sense. Practically, the Evangelical Church never denies the courtesy of the Christian name or the hospitality of the Christian hope to those whose lives illustrate the Christian virtues. But theologically these "exceptional cases" create no little confusion. The answers which they call out are apt to put a strain upon the theological systems.

The most recent discussion in point has been occasioned by the death of the eminent Jewish philanthropist, Sir Moses Montefiore. In answer to the usual question about the Christian salvation of such a man, Dr. A. A. Hodge writes as follows in "The Independent" of September 17, 1885:—

"In common with all who maintain the integrity of Catholic Christianity, we firmly believe that human nature is radically and universally corrupt and guilty before God, utterly incapable of self help in the way of expiation, of merit, of spiritual renovation. Whenever a human being is found, as a matter of fact, to be reconciled to God, and by a holy life gives evidence of possessing a holy nature, we with perfect confidence attribute the result to the application to the person in question of the expiating virtue of Christ's sacrifice and of the regenerating power of his spirit. We believe, therefore, that, without exception, the acceptance of each man with God depends, not upon any supposed natural goodness or personal merit, but wholly upon the fact of the man's personal relation to Jesus Christ. . . . The establishment of this personal relation to our Lord, so as to constitute one a beneficiary of his redemption, is generally conditioned upon personal recognition and confession of Him. This is even essential whenever intellectually possible. But it is not absolutely essential, as is proved in the case of those dying in infancy, and of idiots. On like grounds of principle it might hold true in the case of some exceptionally enlightened heathen. The charitable formula of 'invincible ignorance,' used and greatly abused by Romanists, rests ultimately upon a true principle, and has always been practically more or less recognized by orthodox Christians."

The whole communication from which this extract is taken is thoroughly manly in its tone, and is most delightful reading as a large-hearted interpretation of the Calvinistic symbols in their bearing upon the matter at issue. The difficulty of the explanation lies in the con-

struction put upon the application of the Atonement. We heartily agree with the writer in his assertion of the necessity of the Atonement to every human being. We thank him for the words, "We believe that, without exception, the acceptance of each man with God depends, not upon any supposed natural goodness or personal merit, but wholly upon the fact of the man's personal relation to Christ." But when it is assumed, as it is throughout this article, that the Atonement can be applied to the individual and made efficacious in his behalf, apart from any appreciable influence upon him, without his personal acceptance of it, without even his knowledge of the fact of an atonement, we draw back from the assumption as beyond the limits of plain reasoning. The assumption carries the Atonement over into the secret counsels of the Most High. The cross might as well have been set up in some other world. Historic Christianity becomes a needless expression of the divine purpose and method in the salvation of men. We have elsewhere characterized this kind of salvation, wrought out independently of human consciousness, as salvation by magic. It seems to us to be closely akin to the arts of Romanism. The case of the "exceptionally enlightened heathen" is compared with that of infants, of whom it is said that it is *proved* that the personal recognition and confession of Christ is not absolutely essential to entitle them to become beneficiaries of his redemption. How proved? The Scriptures say nothing of the method of the salvation of infants. The doctrine of their salvation, if the demand be made for specific proof-texts, is extra-Scriptural. The doctrine is an inference, legitimate and necessary, as we believe, but still an inference from the Christian conception of God. The proof of the inferential character of this belief lies in the historic fact that it is only with the widening of the conception of God that we have the belief in the salvation of all infants. Until we reach the Christian conception of God, we have the salvation of "elect infants." And in the absence of any direct statements of Scripture in regard to the doctrine itself, any variation from the prescribed method of salvation is purely speculative. If we waive the exercise of moral agency, and ignore the necessity of a personal appropriation of Christ, what have we left but a kind of baptismal atonement and baptismal regeneration? We think it more reverent, as it is certainly more reasonable, to believe of infants and heathen alike; that according to the development of moral agency they are brought into conscious relations to Christ, and that according to their needs they are enabled to personally appropriate his redemption. We question the advantage and the right of modifying the natural and reasonable conditions of Christianity under the stress of "exceptional cases." Allow Christianity to be, what it claims to be, universal in its relation to the human race, and the necessity for any modification of its conditions is removed. Unity of method becomes the ruling principle in the moral government of God. We have one standard of judgment for all men, one method of salvation, one supreme and sufficient motive to repentance. Divide the moral adminis-

tration of God into the departments of law and grace, and there will be the constant endeavor to transfer, by some secret process, first the few, then the many, who are under the condemnation of law, into the hope of grace. Salvation by Christ ceases to be the open, plain, real thing it is, and becomes something hidden, vague, unverified and unverifiable by the human consciousness.

But the real question in respect to the Christian salvation goes beyond all "exceptional cases." As Dr. Curry remarks in the same discussion, "The important question respecting this class of cases is not whether a devout and pure-minded heathen or Jew can be saved, but whether persons of those classes are, except in a very few and exceptional cases, such in mind and heart; and granting that all such, if such there are, are 'accepted of God,' the case, as one of *fact*, is not much relieved. . . . We may freely admit that, of every nation, even Jews and heathens, he that fears God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him, and yet doubtfully ask respecting all these classes, 'Are there few that be saved?'" The real and living question, a veritable question of flesh and blood, is not that of theological hospitality toward the exceptional life outside Christianity, but rather that of the large and active relation of Christianity to every life without. The real question is in no sense one of hospitality at all, but one rather as to the divine right of every individual of the human race in Christianity. Must the Christian name remain of necessity and forever an exclusive name as respects the majority of mankind, a designation of privilege for the few, rather than of opportunity for all? And are the great masses of men in the past generations to be simply represented in the kingdom of God by here and there a soul who has climbed up some other way into the Christian fold, while they are to remain in their hopelessness and helplessness? Whenever the question is raised about these "exceptional cases" it opens at once into the most serious questioning about those cases which are not exceptional but representative. And whenever the Atonement is introduced as the justification for God's acceptance of the few who may be seeking after Him, if haply they may feel after Him and find Him, it suggests the part which the Atonement also takes in the divine search for man. We accept in its fullest and deepest import the sacrificial theory of atonement. But we do not forget that the Christian Atonement points two ways and is set forth as of equal avail toward God and toward man. To the mind of the heathen, atonement represents exclusively the idea of propitiation. To the mind of the Hebrew, it represented the same idea, though it became more and more suggestive of the divine mercy, so that God was able to make use of the idea to give in advance the assurance of his forgiveness, saying to his people in their wanderings, "Return unto me, for I have redeemed thee." In the sacrifice of Christ the movement is as strong from God to man as from man to God. The Atonement carries the message of human penitence to God; it carries the message of the divine love to man. It gives God access to the human heart, and is the

prevailing motive in his struggle with the will of man. Christianity is incomplete in idea, and partial in application, in so far as this fact is not recognized and acknowledged. In other words, the knowledge of the Atonement may be the necessary condition of the decisive choice of the soul for or against God. The knowledge of right and wrong may not be the sufficient condition for such a choice. If, therefore, in our charity we apply the Romish principle of "invincible ignorance" we must extend the working of that principle beyond the knowledge of right and wrong, to the knowledge of Christ and his salvation.¹

We have approached the subject before us through the current discussions about the Christian salvation because they indicate the sensitiveness of the Christian mind upon this matter. No part of the church cares to insist upon the exclusiveness of the Christian name and hope.

It is impossible, under the moral sense of our time, to maintain the absoluteness of Christianity and its exclusiveness; to affirm that the Christian is the only type of man acceptable to God, and deny to any man the opportunity to become a Christian. As we have seen, the speculation in regard to the Atonement as secretly applied to the "exceptionally enlightened heathen," whatever we may say of its value within its own sphere, entirely overlooks the moral uses of the Atonement in the enlightenment of all unenlightened souls. The only consistent and far-reaching solution of the problem, as we think, lies in the principle advocated in this series of articles. Progressive Orthodoxy matches the absoluteness of Christianity with its universality. It maintains the Christian type as the only type of man acceptable to God, by allowing to every man his right in Christianity. It affirms and magnifies the Christian Judgment as the one event awaiting all men, and under the sense of the certainty of that event, with its everlasting issues, it acknowledges the reasonableness of assuming that every man will first have his Christian opportunity, — that he will know Christ in his sacrifice before he meets Him in judgment.

Passing, then, to the more definite consideration of the Christian, we assume that the Christian man is the man acceptable to God. The New Testament proceeds upon this assumption. Its assurances and promises, its present benefits and its certainties respecting the future, are applicable only to the Christian.

Our first inquiry is, Whence comes the Christian? How do we gain

¹ The reach of this principle is indicated by Dr. Hodge in these generous words: "It is obvious that there is a world-wide distance between an intelligent and malignant rejection of the historic Christ, his Person and offices clearly apprehended, which is *the* damning sin, on the one side, and on the other a failure to recognize Him as misapprehended because of intellectual bias, or the misrepresenting character of the media through which his rays are transmitted. It is certain that a man who really rejects Christ rejects the Father who sent Him. Hence the converse is true: that the man who has truly recognized the Father could not have really rejected Christ."

this type of man? We may say of the individual Christian, as we know him, that he is the result of a definite religious training, or of a definite religious process, which we call conversion. But this does not answer the question, Where do we get the type? The Christian was not born under the light of nature. He was not developed in the school of law, albeit the law was a school-master to lead to Christ. It may not be unnecessary to remind ourselves — unfortunately the saying is not a truism — that the Christian is the product of Christianity. The type of life which he represents came in with those facts and ideas which belong to historic Christianity. And the type is perpetuated through the prevalence of these facts and the supremacy of these ideas. Christianity invariably precedes the Christian, creating those conditions, and setting in motion those agencies, which need but the coöperation of the individual will to produce the required result in Christian character. Christianity produces a new consciousness in the race, which makes possible the Christian consciousness. Man is another being to himself in the light of the Incarnation and Resurrection. The Incarnation does not create a new value in man; it does more: it reveals to him his real value in the thought of God. The Resurrection does not confer immortality upon man; it gives him the moral advantage of immortality; it puts him under the power of the endless life. Wherever Christianity goes it speaks to men through these facts. And because it speaks through facts its language is positive, awakening, and assuring. There is no uncertainty in what Christianity says of man or to him. There is no contradiction in its utterances. The certainties of nature are against man, not for him. He knows that he must die; he hopes that he may live again. He is conscious of powers which separate him from all known life; he believes, half in fear, half in hope, that there is a life above him to which he is related, but he does not dare to urge his kinship with a holy God. The Incarnation is a revelation pure and simple, not a confirmation of the hope or dream of humanity. And atonement, as has been suggested, appears in natural religions only under the idea of propitiation. The idea of an atonement originating with God and consummated through sacrifice on his part is foreign to all natural religions. And the difference in the reflex influence of a belief in a system which expresses the ceaseless striving of man to propitiate an angry deity, and belief in a system of grace working from above in the ceaseless endeavor to turn the sinner from his sin, is simply incalculable. The difference gives the Christian motive to repentance and faith. "We love Him, because He first loved us."

Christianity thus reveals man to himself in a new light, as it uncovers the agencies which are at work toward the renovation of his moral nature and toward his restoration to God. Nature is contradictory in her valuation of man, now strangely exalting him to her high places of power, and again casting him down, or trifling with him as if the veriest plaything in her domain. There are times when man is obliged to take

refuge from the domination and caprice of nature in the one thought that he is a conscious being. Pascal says:—

"Our whole dignity consists in thought. Man is but a reed, the weakest in nature, but he is a thinking reed. It is not necessary that the entire universe should arm itself to crush him. A breath of air, a drop of water, suffices to kill him. But were the universe to crush him, man would still be more noble than that which kills him, because he knows that he dies, and the universe knows nothing of the advantage which it has over him."

Law elevates man to the dignity of a responsible agent. When he finds himself addressed in the language of moral authority, to which he is capable of responding, he takes a new measure of himself. It is greater to hear the "Thou shalt," and "Thou shalt not," of moral law than to stand in the place of a master among inanimate forces. But moral law can only tell man what he ought to be. It leaves him confronted with duty. Christianity comes in to tell him what he may be. It is a revelation to him of his possibilities. It confronts him, not with a legal standard, but with a Life in which he may read his possible character and destiny, and through which he may attain that character and destiny. It assures him of help sufficient and unailing. It links his struggles and aspirations, even his very repentings to a power which was at work for him before his effort for himself began, and which will go on, in his behalf, in its steadiness and strength amid the fluctuations of his own strivings. "We," says Paul to the Christian converts of Asia Minor, "are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God afore prepared that we should walk in them." And again, "Being confident of this very thing, that he which began a good work in you will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ."

Christianity thus conditions the life which is to become Christian before the process begins which is to make it Christian. When the Christian idea is apprehended, its revelation of God in his purpose, its interpretation of man in his possibilities, as it is practically apprehended under the training of the Christian home and school and church, then the process through which the Christian is developed, though it may be in some cases severe and protracted, is simple and clear. It is all expressed in the personal act of repentance toward God, and of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. The personal appropriation of Christ in his life and death constitutes a sinner a Christian. Henceforth he represents, according to the reality of his faith and the seriousness of his purpose, the new type of manhood. In his individual life he is called, by virtue of this change, "a new creature," "a new creation." As related to other men he belongs to the Christian type.

Our second inquiry concerns the place of the Christian before God. What is the position into which he is brought by virtue of his relation, through penitence and faith, to Christ? The New Testament uniformly expresses this condition or estate by one term—sonship. It knows no other term which is not included in this. The teachings of Christ, as in-

deed his personal relations with men, all point to the establishment of this relationship. But we are so apt to interpret the sayings of our Lord in some exceptional way, as if they were not good when detached from his person, and could not be transferred to the life of the church, that we often fail to apply them in their reality and fullness to the more important questions of Christianity. So that it is only as we pass over into the actual workings of Christianity as a system that we come to understand the practical significance of this idea of sonship. When we read the Epistles of Paul and John, as they address themselves to the life coming in from Judaism and heathenism, we see that Christianity is proceeding upon the one principle of building up character and developing personality on the basis of the filial relation. Paul makes this principle most conspicuous, by boldly transferring the working of the divine power in the training of life from the legal to the filial basis. He assures those to whom he writes that the place of sonship is theirs, theirs by the bestowal of grace and according to the rights of faith. They were in it. This was the first thing for them to believe. Nothing could be accomplished in them or through them, in a Christian way, until they believed it. The fact once accepted in full and hearty assurance, the work in character could go on. So Paul reasons throughout his epistles, striving to establish the idea of sonship in the minds of Christian believers, and to strengthen and encourage them in the assurance of its application to their own lives.

Christianity, when rightly apprehended, always makes the idea of sonship fundamental in personal belief and in the upbuilding of character. Christian character is the outgrowth and development of the filial relation. All the restraints and all the incentives which are peculiar to Christianity centre about this relation of the soul to God. Why does the Christian shrink from wrong doing? Because he is a child of God, acknowledged as such of Him, and assured of this relationship in his own consciousness. Inconsistency is the restraining power in his life, not fear. And when he falls away into sin, the motive to repentance is not so much the dread of things to come as the present sense of shame. Christ looking upon Peter in his denial, and Peter going out to weep, is the type of Christian condemnation and repentance. In like manner the working of this principle of sonship comes in to take away those selfish motives which are often attributed to the Christian salvation. Why does the Christian strive to build himself up in right character? Because he is conscious that God is working within him "to will and to work for his good pleasure." This is the motive which acts in advance of all other motives toward the same end. The supreme motive to right doing is gratitude, love, the sense of God's partnership with him in the struggle and in the result. So that here again the Christian is not at work simply for something to come to him in reward, but equally because of something which has come to him for which he would make return. Heaven lies before him in expectation, but the springs of his activity, the sources

of his endeavor, lie deep in the consciousness of that love which assures him that he is a child of God.

It may be said that we have sketched the ideal Christian. We reply that we have sketched the real Christian. If the average Christian life does not express itself in the way which has been indicated, it is owing to the prevalence of the spirit of legalism in the church. We grant the prevalence of this spirit. From the beginning until now it has been difficult to persuade men to believe in Christianity, and to live according to Christianity. Hence Paul at the first and Luther afterward. Legalism follows close upon Christianity in the ceaseless endeavor to formulate its doctrines, to prescribe its methods, to dominate its life. If the church is to maintain the freedom of its faith and life, it must be through the maintenance in faith and life of the idea of sonship.

We reach our third and last inquiry, as we ask, What is the office of the Christian in the world? Does Christianity withdraw him from the world or carry him farther into its life? The ruling principle of legalism, in this regard, is separation resulting in exclusiveness. What is the ruling spirit of Christianity?

When we say that the method of legalism results in exclusiveness we do not intend to characterize the earlier dispensation. The voice which summoned Abraham from his kindred and from his country declared the purpose of this separation—that in him all nations of the earth might be blessed. This separation was to be grandly inclusive in its result. The same purpose separated out Israel as a people, restricting its intercourse, and subjecting it to peculiar discipline, but keeping its spirit large and open through the development of the Messianic hope. It was only as the purpose of the separation was lost sight of that the national life became hard and exclusive. The dwindling of the hope allowed the growth of the narrower types of the national faith. Judaism gradually ceased to look upon the world in the light of opportunity. The world came to represent more and more temptation from which “the chosen people” was to defend itself. Christianity instantly reversed this conception of the world, and by this change of conception made it safe for its disciples to go into all the world in fulfillment of the command of Christ. The danger or safety of one’s relation to the world always depends upon his conception of the world. To the Christian the world is harmless so long as it represents the idea of opportunity. It is safe for him to gain and use all which it has to offer, thought, wealth, or power, if he can keep this idea uppermost in his mind.

The office of the Christian in the world is to communicate Christianity to the world. Self-protection is secondary, or rather it is most completely gained by the fulfillment of this object. The individual Christian represents this purpose, and the church. The church is the Christian organized to this end. There are other uses of the Christian organization, but this is the object which gives meaning and advantage to all others. This communication of Christianity to the world through the Christian,

in his individual or associated life, is effected in various ways. The earliest, as it has been the most persistent, method was that of testimony. The Christian stood out in the world representing a new fact, a new principle, a new faith. Through his life he advertised Christianity. The simpler his life, the more natural his faith, the more he called the attention of men to his religion. Not infrequently this natural and unostentatious witness to his faith cost him his life. Then Christianity was communicated to other lives. Persecution carried it even to the hearts of persecutors. Sometimes the witness to the faith found expression in protest against prevailing immoralities and cruelties. Christianity declared itself in appreciable and effective ways for the rights of man. The Christian became the champion of humanity. The result of these conflicts — the result was always a deliverance or a reform — carried Christianity farther and farther into society, and established it more securely in the respect and affections of men. But the chief form in which the Christian testimony found expression was the creed. Very early the Christian learned to say, and to say aloud, "I believe." He seems to have been filled with the spirit of the Psalmist who cried out, "I have become a believer, therefore I must let myself be heard." This affirmation of faith was contagious. Next to the life of the Christian, his creed has been, without doubt, the most effective agency in the communication of Christianity. The clear affirmation of faith, when the reasons can be adduced which support it, especially when these reasons are involved, as in the Apostles' Creed, in the recital of facts, is in itself an argument and an inspiration. It is an invitation to the doubting, troubled, and even defiant heart of this world. The power of the creed — the power, that is, of the *believing* Christian — must always be a chief agent in the spread of Christianity. It is a noticeable fact that each new apprehension of Christianity on the part of the church has been the means of a larger and closer contact with the world. On the whole, the advance of Christianity may be traced in the progress of doctrine.

Perhaps the most natural and available way, to the majority, in which the Christian may fulfill his office of communicating Christianity is through his identification with the world. When this identification becomes formal, as in the alliance between church and state, it becomes dangerous. But there are numberless ways in which it may be vital and even organic, without becoming formal. The Christian is a member of the family, a factor in society, a citizen of the state. He is a partner in the affairs of men. He deals in administration. He is a student, an inquirer into things of common concern, an adventurer, like other men, into the unrevealed and unexplored realms of thought. In all these relations and employments he has the opportunity to leave the personal impress of his Christianity. Probably nothing is more effective or helpful to Christianity than the action of the Christian man, when he is most unconsciously the Christian. But in all these relations there is need for the

intentional and well-considered application of Christianity. These are all to be Christianized — vitalized, that is, with the Christian spirit, and informed with the Christian purpose. Sometimes it is difficult to cause the individual Christian to see that his personal responsibility extends beyond the use of his personal example. "If I am a Christian in my business," he may ask, "have I not fulfilled my duty?" No. It is your duty to make it easy, in some cases to make it possible, for others to be Christians in the same business. Nor is it sufficiently considered that it may be easier to one's self to attempt a reform in a given business, when its methods have become unchristian and immoral, than to attempt to maintain alone the true and Christian method. There may be times, under the competitions of business, when the Christian man must resort to questionable methods, or succumb to failure, if he cannot change the method and lift the standard. And when we pass from matters of more private interest to those of public concern, the necessity for the active and coöperative communication of Christian methods and principles becomes apparent. Present examples are to be found in the movement for the protection of the family, and in that for purity in political life.

The communication of Christianity, however, assumes its large and imperative form as it finds expression in the endeavor of the Christian to fulfill his Lord's command in the conversion of the world. Christianity is a salvation. That salvation is meant for every man. And men are to carry it to one another. It is to be on its human side a communicated salvation. It has no other visible power of extension. The figure of the seed or the leaven does not apply to Christianity as a salvation extending from man to man. The human element is the active element in its extension. There must be a going into all the world, a preaching of the gospel to the whole creation. This going into all the world means searching through the city, following along the track of emigration or commerce or adventure, penetrating into the dark and well-nigh inaccessible places of the earth. This preaching the gospel to the whole creation means that wherever man lives the Christian has a message for him. And we are not to forget that the known contents of the message are the reason for the going. Christianity is to be carried because it is a gospel, "good news," "glad tidings." Like his Divine Master the Christian is sent "not to condemn the world, but that the world through him may be saved." It is to be feared that Christianity is suffering more at present in the missionary form of expression than in any other. Christianity is apprehended as a faith, as an institution, as an organic force in society. We fear that it is not sufficiently apprehended as a gospel. The church stands equipped with organization; it lacks, if anywhere, in the spirit of communication. But this lack is serious, and if long continued will visibly diminish the missionary power of the church. We are wont to say in the consciousness of any spiritual want that the church needs a revival of religion. Let us be more specific, in the sense of our present want, and say that the church needs a revival of Christianity.

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD
OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

THE approaching meeting of the American Board is anticipated with more than the usual pleasure. The fact that it is the seventy-fifth anniversary doubtless has something to do with this special interest. Not that there is anything particularly impressive in this numerical feature of the meeting. Seventy-five is not a number that captivates the imagination. It is possible to appreciate the feeling of those who have supposed that there is a mysterious centurial movement in human affairs. But seventy-five is not a number to conjure with. Yet there has been no mistake in selecting such a year for a celebration. A point half way on from the jubilee to the centennial is a fitting spot to pause at for a moment and look back over the past and onward to the brightening future. Not a few, we presume, who were present at the fiftieth anniversary in Boston will be able to attend in the same city the seventy-fifth. The presence also, as may be anticipated, of the president of the Board, who on the former occasion eloquently interpreted its history, will suitably qualify any exaggeration of the lapse of time. Yet, practically, the present meeting of the Board confronts another generation from that with which it dealt at the previous gathering in Boston. Of the executive officers of that day none are now in service, and only one survives. Of the Prudential Committee two are still members who were so then, having been annually reelected, to the incalculable advantage of the cause to which they have devoted so much of their time and thought; but nearly half of the intervening period has passed away since the last of their nine associates, Charles Stoddard, Esq., resigned his trust. We think, therefore, that it has been wisely decided to give at the coming meeting, as at the jubilee, a prominent place to historical and commemorative exercises; and the names of the distinguished clergymen who are specially intrusted with leadership in this celebration, the Rev. George Leon Walker, D. D., and the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, are a sufficient guarantee that the occasion will be suitably improved.

The history of the Board is an interesting study from many points of view. It is a part of a general movement through which evangelical faith, recovering from the prostration caused by long-continued struggles both internal and external, reasserted itself with renewed purity and power. The causes were many, — progress in the apprehension of Christian doctrine, particularly of the central truth of the Atonement, which was liberated from its subjection to the control of a misplaced and misunderstood doctrine of election, wide-spread religious awakenings, increased knowledge of the Asiatic world, the enthusiasm and enterprise of young men whose minds and hearts had been illumined and kindled with fire from the altar of Christ's sacrifice for the salvation of the world. The form which the movement assumed in its missionary development was natural and fitting, that of free societies, unhampered by alliances with States,

unfettered by the restricted degree to which the mass of nominal church membership had grasped the problem of missions or entered into its spirit. Even those who most fully understood what was called for, and were most active in labors, but imperfectly apprehended what could be accomplished, or how to bring this to pass. Nothing, for instance, in the early transactions of the American Board is more apparent than the tentative character of all that was done. The young men at Andover Seminary who gave the first impulse submitted to the Massachusetts General Association the inquiries, whether they—the applicants—“ought to renounce the object of missions as either visionary or impracticable; if not, whether they ought to direct their attention to the Eastern or Western world; whether they may expect patronage and support from a missionary society in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of a European society.” When they were ordained it was with the vague designation of “Missionaries to the Heathen in Asia.” Their mission was called the “Mission to Asia.” None of them reached under the American Board the particular field—“some part of the empire of Birmah”—which it was hoped would be found open. One society, it was thought, would receive the support of all American Protestant Christians.

Such conditions gave to this society a peculiar character at the start, and have shaped its history. It is undenominational. Circumstances have caused it to become the foreign missionary organ of Congregationalists, but so far as Congregationalism is anything other than the most fitting and helpful organization of Christianity for its work in a particular country the Board has nothing to do with it. It is also catholic in doctrine. “Christians of different denominations,” said Dr. Woods in his remarkable sermon delivered at the Tabernacle in Salem, at the ordination of the first missionaries of the Board, “Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Moravians, new divinity men and old divinity men, have all been more or less disposed to attach too much importance to the points in which they differ from each other. They have had party spirit. They have had narrow prejudices. . . . They have injured the truth by discussing the *important subjects* of disagreement without due meekness and candor, and by laying out too much strength on those which are *unimportant*. . . . Christians have needed some grand object to seize their hearts and engage all their powers—some great and common cause in which they might be effectually purified from error and find a grave for all their jealousies and animosities; and in which the eternal truths of revelation might be maintained with unyielding firmness, and propagated with augmented and unconquerable zeal. THE SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL and THE CONVERSION OF THE WORLD constitute the very *object* wanted—the *common cause* which ought to unite, and has already begun to unite, the affections, prayers, and labors of the great family of Christians.” Similarly, in one of the earliest addresses sent out by the Board to the Christian public, we read: “It will be the

desire and aim of the Board so to conduct their affairs as to secure the confidence of all Christians throughout the United States, of every denomination; and they venture to hope for the countenance of all who admit the utility of missions and translations."

Another important characteristic of the work of the Board has been its care for Christian education. This has been one of the main reasons of the stability and steady progress of its work. In the first instructions given to its missionaries the importance of this means of evangelization is fitly recognized. The subsequent history shows variations of method, differences of opinion as to the extent to which the Board may properly promote directly the establishment of the higher institutions of learning, or itself organize them, but the object itself has never been lost sight of.

This is but one aspect of a larger fact. The Board was instituted, and in a good degree has been worked, on the theory of a simple and absolute reliance upon the truth of the gospel as the divine instrumentality for human salvation. Nothing on this point can be more satisfactory than the instructions to the first missionaries, to which we have already referred. "In teaching the Gentiles it will be your business not vehemently to declaim against their superstitions, but in the meekness and gentleness of Christ to bring them as directly as possible to a knowledge of divine truth. It is the truth, the truth as it is in Jesus, which is 'mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds . . . bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.' So far as the truth has access, so as to produce its effect, the errors and superstitions and vices of Paganism will fall, of course."

We have touched in the foregoing paragraphs upon the secret of the power of the anniversaries of the American Board. It has stood before the public as the representative of catholic and undenominational Christianity; or, in other words, for the gospel in its universality and absoluteness. The presence of missionaries has contributed to this impression. They represent Christianity in its claim to supreme control over personality, in its demand of entire self-sacrifice. They come from fields where the questions that divide Christians at home sink into insignificance, to tell of trophies won for Christ from men in almost every grade of humanity.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of such a society as the Board will be an occasion not only for a review of the past, but for a large outlook over the field of missions, and the gathering of fresh inspiration for new labors. It has been creditable to the Board that it has always professed, and in no inconsiderable degree been quick to exercise, a willingness to learn from experience. As we have noticed, its beginnings were tentative. It has endeavored to follow the leadings of Providence. It has carefully gathered up lessons from every field concerning the most effective methods of prosecuting missions, as its files and reports abundantly show. A comparison of the work now doing at its stations with that which

was accomplishing even twenty-five years ago will show, we believe, commendable progress. It doubtless will learn much in the days to come. Yet the thought is full of encouragement and stimulus, that through the various missionary societies now well organized and conducted by men of large experience (the tables which we publish in this number will suggest an aggregate of these societies and a degree of efficiency which we suspect will surprise those who have not paid special attention to the subject) the church to-day might lay a hand of power and blessing — as it were, the very benediction of Christ — on every island and continent of the globe. All that is needed is the inspiration that alone can lift the church to the level of its opportunity. Providence has been developing through the century the requisite organizations. It is now giving access to every field, however long closed and sealed. The continent of Africa is becoming as open to missions as to the sunlight. The remotest provinces of China will soon be in active commercial relations with Western civilization. The islands of the Pacific and the continents of Asia and Africa will, ere long, be more thoroughly crossed and recrossed by routes of travel and traffic than was the Roman Empire when it was conquered by the early church. As never before the world is prepared for the gospel. Has the church a gospel for the world?

This is the underlying question for all Christian missions. It needs to be considered anew. For ourselves we believe that the church cannot be roused to the endeavor to which the events of the present century point as an immediate duty without a reconsideration of questions which some are disposed to consider as no longer open to discussion, and without a clearer and more satisfactory issue to such inquiries.

The impulse to modern missions, the origin of the American Board, was intimately connected, as we have already noticed, with the new views which had gained prominence respecting the universality of the Atonement. Dr. Woods, in the sermon from which we have already quoted, was emphatic on this point. He pleaded as a motive for "effort to seek the conversion of all mankind," "the plenteousness of the provision which Christ has made for their salvation," an atonement not only "sufficient for Asiatics and Africans," but "made for them as well as for us." He rebuked as indicative of the limited and exclusive spirit of Judaism any lower estimate of the Christian dispensation. The two postulates upon which the whole work of the American Board has proceeded from the beginning are: every man's need of the gospel, and the sufficiency of the gospel for every man. Nor at the outset, at least, was this need reduced to a necessity for some secret provision in the divine government by which saving blessings could be mysteriously communicated to men left in entire ignorance of their ground, and an almost equal ignorance of their motive and source and character. It was claimed to be the undeniable teaching of Scripture that men must perish without revealed truth. The necessity of this knowledge is the burden of the early missionary sermons preached before the Board.

None of these was more moderate in language, more calm, unimpassioned, thoroughly reasoned and reasonable than President Appleton's. Its object was to show that "the true character of God is not known except by revelation." He declines to agitate the question "whether some individuals may not be sanctified by the Spirit who are precluded from all acquaintance with revealed religion." Such purely exceptional cases he justly regards as of no serious account in the large and practical issue.

With these fundamental principles there was held, though with less firmness of grasp and clearness and fullness of intelligence, another maxim which had previously become prominent in proportion as Christianity had ceased to be asserted and defended in the use of its specific teachings. We refer to the dogma of individual moral probation. This probation, without discussion, was accepted as absolutely limited for all men to the opportunities of the present life. A necessary corollary from this sweeping proposition, combined with the received belief as to the universal need of a knowledge of revealed truth, was that every pagan not reached by the missionary of the cross must inevitably pass from this probationary existence to everlasting punishment. The first missionaries to India make this conclusion emphatic in their memorial to the governor of Bombay, December 4, 1813:—

"We looked upon the heathen, and alas! three fourths of the inhabitants of the globe had not been told that Jesus had 'tasted death for every man.' We saw them following their fathers in successive millions to eternal death. The view was overwhelming."

This dogmatic inference gave special intensity to appeals for missions for a long time. The fundamental Biblical principles of the missionary movement were so clear, the moral degradation of the heathen world was so evident, traditional conceptions of the divine government were so strong, that men's minds swept on to the fearful conclusion of the doom of the pagan without a full realization of what it involved even as a mere process of reasoning. But this could not continue. The whole history of Christian beliefs shows a constant elimination of incidental propositions or imperfect apprehensions under the educating influence of the sure and necessary principles of the system. It was so in this case. The increase of knowledge of other religions than the Christian, the rise and growth of the science of comparative religion, more thorough acquaintance with the Scriptures under improved methods of interpretation, the heightened influence of the gospel, bringing men's minds into larger knowledge of the mind of Christ and deeper sympathy with his love to men, clearer and higher consequent conceptions of the true character of God, have gradually deprived the old appeal from the inevitable doom of the pagan of its effectiveness, even in missionary gatherings. Even where it is recognized in thesis, or at least is not formally abandoned, it is no longer pressed. A secretary of one of our most conservative and powerful missionary organizations, the Presbyterian Board of Missions, speaking not

long since in behalf of missions in a prominent church in Philadelphia, affirmed that an intelligent layman had said to him that the vast majority of Presbyterians in that region — forty-eight out of fifty was the proportion given — had come to believe that in some way or other, without foreign missions, large numbers of the heathen would be saved. The secretary, without attempting to correct this belief, proceeded to plead for missionary effort on other grounds. The organ of the London Missionary Society — that society with which the first missionaries of the Board proposed to connect themselves if not sent forth from America, a society with which the Board has been always in peculiarly intimate relations — has recently remarked: —

“There was a time, and this not long ago, when the most forcible appeal for missions was drawn from the belief that the heathen who did not hear of Christ must drop into a hell of unending torment. The nobler thoughts of God which have of late taken possession of the church have rendered it impossible to believe that men could be eternally lost for not having believed truths never offered for their acceptance.”

We cannot regard this language as in any respect too strong. The intelligence and heart of the Christian church not merely decline to accept the old dogma of the perdition of the heathen, — they repudiate it. In the absence of any thorough reconsideration of the subject the consequence is that some take refuge in agnosticism; others refuse to think on the subject; others resort to a vague assertion of the divine leniency, a proportioning of judgment to light and opportunity. Practically, it is believed that as many will be saved out of heathendom as out of Christendom.

If this change of belief involved merely the withdrawal or modification of one motive to Christian missions the problem presented would be comparatively simple and unimportant. The only question would be how the argument for missions shall be adapted to such a changed attitude of mind. But the real issue is much broader and deeper. The question of the salvation of the heathen is simply one aspect of the fundamental religious question of our time: the claim of Christianity to be the one perfect and final religion for all mankind. Involved in this issue are inquiries such as these: Is the final judgment universal? Do the ultimate destinies of men turn on their personal relation to Christ? Is Christianity essentially ethical and spiritual? Is its salvation mediated by motives, including personal influence, addressed to and operative in the human reason, affections, and will? Is there one system of salvation for Jew and Gentile, as one final judgment? Is God's purpose of creation and redemption fulfilled except as He manifests himself to every human being as Redeemer as well as Judge? What inference upon this question is legitimate from the universality of Christ's Person in its constitution, the universality of Christ's atonement, and the universality of Christ's judgment? How and why is He the Son of Man, the second Adam, the Creator, Mediator, and Ruler of the universe?

We cannot but think that the interests of missions to the heathen require a readjustment of pleas in their behalf in the light of the Scriptural and rational answers which must be given to such questions. If this is not done there is danger not merely of the loss of a particular motive to missions, but of a loss of faith in the principles which underlie the whole missionary movement. The cause of missions stands or falls with the postulates on which the work of the American Board was begun,—universal guilt, universal redemption, the indispensableness of faith. It rests ultimately on the divine command (Matt. xxviii. 18–20), which implies the universality and absoluteness of Christianity. The dogma of the damnation of the heathen is not one of these postulates, but a corollary obtained by introducing a dogma which is no part nor presupposition of the gospel,—that of the limitation of probation for all men to the present life. This dogma is now working, as do all untruthful exaggerations, with a disturbing and injurious effect. It is driving its advocates to positions inconsistent with the fundamental axioms of Christian missions. They cannot accept the old conclusion of the universal perdition of the pagan. They continue, however, to insist upon the limitation of probation. The only and necessary relief is in a reduction of Christianity, a lessening of its claims and a corruption of its ethical and spiritual quality. The endeavor is to find grounds of hope for the heathen outside of Christianity, or outside of the sphere of its operation as moral and spiritual truth working as a new and mighty motive-power in the formation of character. That, in quarters where this limitation of probation is deemed essential to orthodoxy, the drift of opinion is strongly in this direction is abundantly evident. The caution, indeed, is still interposed that the evidence requires us to hold that the “hopeful” cases are rare and purely exceptional, but the line of movement entered upon and the motive to it point decisively in one direction, namely, to a very large inclusion in the kingdom of Christ of men who are supposed to be saved by Him, without knowledge of Him, and by none of the means or motives which are distinctive and characteristic in the Christian life. For the movement cannot be arrested by the recognition of merely exceptional cases. This brings no relief. It does not meet the real difficulty. It fails to take account of the efficient cause of the change in men’s views. That cause, as the “Chronicle of the London Missionary Society” asserts, is the growth in Christian consciousness of “nobler thoughts of God, as revealed in Jesus Christ.” Exceptional cases are wholly incommensurate with the magnitude such a revelation introduces into the problem. To say that Christ is fitted by the foreordained constitution of his Person to sustain a personal relation to every man, that he actually died in intent and purpose for every man, that he will judge every man, as he created and redeemed every man, and then to say that out of incalculable millions of these very men a paltry few only will be saved, and these without “the establishment of this personal relation to our Lord,”—is worse than poor

logic, — it is an insult, however unintentional, to Christianity, and practically derogatory to its claims to absoluteness and finality. We recognize in its full value all that can be said about “elect” Chinese or “elect” Jews in Christendom, as about “elect infants” and “all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word.” We recall Peter’s language: “God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him.” But we recall also that Peter was sent to Cornelius to teach him the words by which he and his house should be saved (Acts xi. 14), and that when “filled with the Holy Ghost” the same Apostle affirmed of the historic Christ, — “Jesus Christ of Nazareth,” — “in none other is there salvation” (Acts iv. 8, 10, 12): and we cannot but think it derogatory to this salvation to identify it with any experience which does not include the knowledge of the Father through the Son. And if the present movement in certain orthodox circles to relieve the demand from a larger and more Christian view of the character of God for a wide extension of hope for the heathen is not freed from the limitations of this inferential dogma about their probation, it will be impossible to maintain in effectiveness the principle which lies at the very heart of Christian missions — the indispensableness of the gospel.

A firm and practical conviction of the rightful and sole supremacy of Christianity has been the source of the strength and the heroism of the greatest, the most effective missionaries from the days of the Apostle of the Gentiles to the present hour. We are in earnest that no dogma be interposed which limits the operation of its divine power to conditions which exclude its exercise in any intelligible way, or on any extensive scale. We believe, and we think there is need of asserting the principle, that the author of Christianity will give it in time, as in all other respects, a fitting opportunity for its operation. We would send out missionaries who can ask men to renounce all other systems because they are persuaded that Christianity, and this alone, fulfills all that is good in every other, and meets the deficiencies of every other; missionaries who in the light of all of God’s revelations of himself, whether by human reason or human history or special inspiration of prophets and apostles or by Incarnation, with clear intelligence and perfect assurance of faith will present Christ as the rightful and the only Saviour and Lord; and we would not weaken their message by loading it with a dogma of the doom of the ancestors of the men to whom they preach, a dogma contradictory to the name they proclaim and into which they baptize, or by accompanying it with an apology for Christianity which lowers it in principle to the level of other religions, or makes it essentially a system operative in some occult way and not as “the truth as it is in Jesus.”

As we have seen, the platform of the American Board is pledged by its history to all that is catholic in Christian belief and fellowship. We

believe that its missions should be conducted in this large-minded and large-hearted spirit; that young men should be attracted to its service by the grandeur of its aim, and welcomed without scrutiny as to their theological opinions beyond what is necessary to ascertain their full acceptance of fundamental Christianity in their beliefs and in their consecration of purpose. We would raise, as a dividing question, no issue upon the mode in which God will administer his one system of redeeming grace in its application to those of his children who are born in the darkness of heathenism. But all the more are we strenuous that right opinions should prevail as to what the gospel is in its universality and completeness, and that no positions be taken which in the end will inevitably diminish men's convictions of its supreme authority and absolute necessity. And we believe that it is by the prevalence of truer conceptions of its universal character and relations, in connection with the providential opening of the world to its mission and the promised gift of the Spirit, that the coming century — may we not hope and expect, the next quarter of a century? — will show a progress in its extension beyond anything as yet realized.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN: IS IT A NOVEL?

THE republication of this famous work thirty-three years after its first issue suggests some interesting questions concerning the Art of Fiction that were not so prominent before the minds of either the producers or the consumers of novels fifty years ago as they are to-day. The novel has sensibly felt the awakening of the scientific spirit. Science has given new eyes to painter, poet, and novelist. Fiction, as the most influential form of artistic prose creation, has sensitively responded to the recent powerful impetus given to the Philosophy of *Æsthetics*. The purpose of the novel, its province, function, laws of structure, and the criteria of its technical excellences are now matters of paramount literary importance; half a century ago they were scarcely discussed. Any good-sized story printed between two covers, and more often between six, was a novel. There was no question about the place of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in literature; it was a novel, of course. But to-day its right to such a classification is a possible matter of dispute. Art-criticism, in its present stage of refinement, asserts as one of its dogmas that all works of art which have a practical purpose are not properly works of art. Such works may not be intrinsically bad; very likely they ought to be written; but they must not be regarded as works of art. Art, it is claimed, exists only for pleasure. The novel, as a species of art, has for its ministry the impartation of delight in the arousing of pleasurable emotions through the vivid representation of human feelings and human actions. The novelist, as a prose-poet, need concern himself with nothing beyond fidelity to his own artistic impressions, fidelity to artistic truth, and fidelity to the artis-

tic perfection of his work. A work of art has no end outside of itself. "Art for art's sake" is the capital maxim for the workers in all forms of artistic creation.

Now the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" had a conscious and openly avowed practical end in writing the book. Never was a book written with such intensity of moral purpose. Here was no mental activity for mere play; no literary exertion for its own sake; no purpose of imparting pleasure to others by moving their æsthetic emotions. The author's purpose was a far mightier one. It was nothing less than to make her story a revelation, and to promulgate a new political gospel. As a professed abolitionist she intended to unmask the diabolical nature of human slavery, and to aid in securing the repeal of the odious Fugitive-Slave Bill. As a Christian philanthropist she intended to represent the condition of the American negro slave as a question of humanity and of Christian civilization, so as to promote his ultimate emancipation. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was a great cry of agony and revolt against national injustice and oppression; it was an ardent aspiration toward a purged and regenerated nation. Obviously, tested by the criterion of art-criticism just referred to, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," with its openly professed ethical and reformatory ground-motive, is not a novel. Its end was outside of itself. It must be ruled out of the realm of artistic fiction, and relegated to the limbo of political pamphlets and highly wrought rhetorical appeals to inflamed party spirit. As fiction it was simply a political *feuilleton*. But no pamphleteer, no senator, no leading article, no sharp weapon of logic, no loud thunder of oratory, ever shook the public reason and the public conscience and "moulded the hearts of millions into one" as did this nondescript work of fiction. For popular effect "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is unparalleled in the annals of literature. It was nothing less than revolutionary. How are we to account for it?

It is becoming for laymen in art to bow to the utterances of the high priests and legislators of the Beautiful. But while we cordially join in the protest against turning the novel into a pulpit, or a platform for the mediocre deliverances of the opinions and antipathies of loud-mouthed reform, still we confess to a haunting suspicion that somehow "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is a novel, — a genuine work of art. Next to its powerful moral purpose, its unprecedented popular impression was due, we believe, to its art-power. Had it not been artistically presented to the public it would not have produced its profound and wide-reaching effects.

As a work of fiction the book found its justification in the freshness and attractiveness of its theme. The system of American slavery as an abstract theory of human relations was a proper subject for the pulpit, the platform, the public press, and the halls of congressional debate; but slavery was more than a theory, — it was a concrete reality of human life, and therefore legitimately within the limits of dramatic treatment. Human passions and human actions were existing in a most interesting form within

the environment of a definite section of social and national life. When we affirm this we state the very substance of fiction according to its most scholarly and able professors. Mrs. Stowe's originality manifested itself in her sagacity to perceive, as no one else had perceived, the art-value of such a subject and of such materials. Under the powerful impulse and guidance of profound moral passion she made her searching appeal to the heart and the imagination of her countrymen.

The realistic basis for her art she had made secure through personal observation, original documents, and unimpeachable testimony. Sure of her facts, she was vindicated from all assault upon the score of a want of truth. One great secret of the success of the book was in its impregnable foundation in truth. She was equally mindful of artistic truth in her treatment of all the essential interests that are involved in spirited and life-like portraiture of original characters, in the complex relations of passion, and in the development of the action of the story. The story was unflagging in its interest from beginning to end; and a unity was given to the varied dramatic elements of character, passion, and action, by the intensity of her single burning desire to reveal the true nature of American slavery. The ideal powers of her rich, earnest genius fused the many parts into a consistent whole. Defects of construction and style could be pointed out; the failure of artistic skill is here and there apparent; her descriptions are sometimes tame and inadequate; the character coloring is too monochromatic; the critical reader now and then feels the absence of light where there is shade, and shade where there is light; the good people are altogether good, and the bad people are altogether bad. But with its blemishes it is unquestionably a work of genius, — thought, imagination, sympathy, religious sentiment and faith, and vivid dramatic power shine on every page. One striking peculiarity must be noticed: this is a novel without a lover; but the pages glow with conjugal and parental love and religious affection.

The prejudice of technical estimate may be justified in denying to "Uncle Tom's Cabin" the highest technical excellences according to the present standards of artistic prose. But the prejudice of technique should not blind the cultivated or critical reader to the truly great artistic qualities of the work. Even upon technical grounds modern literary criticism will go astray if it overlooks or undervalues splendid powers that insure an artistic as well as an ethical triumph, notwithstanding defects of execution. Energy of creative power and the capacity for powerfully stirring the emotions are superior to mere technical finish. It is ever the danger of the educated eye to derive more pleasure in observing how a thing is done than what is done, and trivial subjects treated with exquisite technical excellence are apt to give greater delight than a great subject treated with artistic power but full of technical defects, while the treatment is true and grand as a whole. Nevertheless, in the interests of the art of the future, it is essential to insist upon the

absoluteness of technique in artistic execution. Emotional pleasure and technical pleasure have met in "Silas Marner" and "Henry Esmond," and will be often gratified by future novelists who work upon the method suggested by a distinguished modern literary artist: "The deepest quality of a work of art," says Henry James, Jr., "will always be the mind of the producer. In proportion as that mind is rich and noble will the novel, the picture, the statue, partake of the substance of beauty and truth."

Then there is the prejudice of theory. Critics are not unfrequently thrown into injudicious antagonism to an author or his work, because a strong writer persists in following the bent of his own genius rather than in subjecting himself to the canons of art-criticism. The roundabout common-sense of appreciative readers will never reject "Uncle Tom's Cabin" from the department of novels on account of its controlling practical purpose. On the same principle of exclusion the prejudice of theory would deny a place in art to many a noble work of fiction. Nearly every one of George Eliot's novels, with their lofty strain of ethical teaching, would be shut out. Even George Sand, whom Sainte-Beuve placed at the head of French novelists, would be thrown out of account as an artist in fiction, for hers was a moral leadership in point of literary purpose. Where shall we place Thackeray, who was as much a moralist as he was a novelist? What shall we do with "Oliver Twist," and "Nicholas Nickleby," and "Bleak House,"—indeed, with nearly all of Dickens's works? It may be said of this great novelist, in almost his own words, that he looked upon the world as a scene where it was the duty of each man in his own way to make the lot of the miserable a little less miserable; and having learned that his genius gave him great power, he was bent on using that power effectively. The poetry of Wordsworth and of Browning is the poetry of great preachers teaching the world in musical phrase what they have gained as seekers after truth. They are first in their office as preachers rather than as poets.

With all due deference to the prejudice of theory, we fail to see why the ethical purpose and the artistic purpose cannot coexist and cooperate in any artistic effort that admits of the twofold purpose. Why may not the novelist instruct and stimulate to action through the impartation of pleasure? Like Bret Harte, or like Howells in his later work, he may artistically conceal the end in the means, "teach morality while seeming to dispense with it," and move and charm us all the while. The province of the novelist is limitless, for human life is multitudinous in its ethical and dramatic aspects. The artist in the portrayal of human interests must be allowed all freedom of choice in subject and in purpose. Only let "his mind be rich and noble," and the selection and treatment will be sure to take care of themselves. The novel is, indeed, as the novelists claim, a "most magnificent form of art." As the artist grows richer in experience and equipment, and grows nobler in character and purpose,

he will become more appreciative of his high responsibility as a potent factor in the well-being of society, and find that his best work and most enduring as a literary artist will root itself in his personal worth and in his sympathy with the permanent interests of the human spirit. The wise Goethe said: "The fashion of this world passeth away, and I would fain occupy myself only with the abiding."

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STATISTICS OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

BY DR. R. GRUNDEMANN.

(Condensed Translation by Rev. C. C. Starbuck.)

TEN years ago I published preliminary statistical accounts of Protestant missions. It might naturally be supposed that the following tables are the long-intended continuation of that work, for which it might well appear that I have taken all needful time. This, however, would be an error. The present contribution to missionary statistics has also been called out by a special occasion. An associate had stirred me up to resume the execution of a plan, formed twenty years ago, of furnishing a yearly chronicle of missions, offering to take by far the greater part of the labor upon himself. But after we had, on this understanding, arranged to publish a Missionary Almanac, of which statistics should form an essential element, my friend found himself so overwhelmed with other affairs that he left everything upon my hands, cumbered with a great packet of English and American reports, which proved however to be an exceedingly defective collection. Thus divided between the apparent presumption of undertaking the preparation of a statistical account under such circumstances and my long growing sense of the imperious necessity of such a work, I was fain to devote my best energies, though most reluctantly, to the dry and difficult task work, which often held me till far into the night over its perplexing computations and combinations. This explanation may well excuse defects. Yet, notwithstanding these, I hope the reader will find, in various respects, a decided advance upon the essay of ten years ago.

Missionary statistics have two sides. We ask: *What are the different Missionary Societies doing* for the conversion of the heathen? and then, also: *What is being done in the different heathen lands?* The computations from both points of view ought to yield the same result. The second point has not as yet been sufficiently held in view. I believe that here an advance will be found over ten years ago. I hope, also, that a far more discriminating account will be found here than is usual of moneys contributed, distinguishing more accurately between genuine yearly offerings of the various Christian countries for Foreign Missions and the interest of funded bequests, which forms not an inconsiderable proportion of missionary outlays. Various societies, moreover, receive

considerable assistance from abroad, which must also be deducted from what is raised in the countries in which they have their seat. I have done my best with the round numbers which usually represent these foreign contributions, and hope that I shall be found to have come a good deal nearer to accuracy.

Another important point held in view by me has been to distinguish between trustworthy statements proceeding from competent authority (or computations resting immediately upon these), and such as are made out by probable combinations. Many English and American annual reports, in particular, affix in their tables, in the most unconcerned manner, the note "No Returns" to the names of various stations, and yet sum up regardless of these gaps, the result being a distorted image. In such cases I have done my best by calling to my aid earlier reports to fill out these deficiencies. For the probability of the resulting statements I can easily hold myself answerable, but not for their absolute accuracy. So of those mission fields as to which I could not obtain reports. And as space has not sufficed to give the grounds of these conjectural estimates, they are distinguished from the certain elements of each recapitulation by being printed in "old style" figures. And always, where an amount stated comprised such elements, these have been placed within brackets, or preceded by and ranged beneath the accredited figures.

That missionary statistics have even yet only a very relative value is what I declared ten years ago, and now emphatically repeat. But notwithstanding the caution with which even the following results are to be received, they nevertheless afford an evident proof of the steady progress in the extension of the kingdom of God by means of Protestant missions. Missionary statistics are not an idle mustering of our particular armies, but are rather that system of book-keeping which appertains to the regular conduct of every business. We hope that the attention given to this branch of missionary science will have a fruitful reflex effect upon the cause itself.

Let me remark, in conclusion, that the Annual Reports of 1883-84 are the basis throughout, even where later statements had already come to hand. Only where the Report of that year could not be had have I made use of others.¹

[¹ Dr. Grundemann's tables give much ampler particulars than are communicated here, doing for each society and each country what, in the recapitulations which are here reproduced, is only done for whole nations that give, or whole continents that receive. These fuller tables are to be found in the June, July, August, and September numbers, for 1885, of Warneck's *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, published at Gütersloh by C. Bertelsmann. — Translator.]

A. GERMAN SOCIETIES.

TABLE I.

Recapitulation.

Missionary Societies.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Amount of Expenditure in Dollars. ¹
		European.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Unitas Fratrum	99	145	951	81,268	28,116	2,227	216	16,983	8,250	90,522.24
2. Basle	38	59	339	16,164	8,017	840	170	6,177	1,625	199,827.36
3. Berlin	46	62	300	14,673	6,561	1,559	61	3,223	1,428	79,293.60
4. Rhenish	52	70	393	24,823	8,483	1,818	65	4,994	2,375	84,208.08
5. North German	4	11	30	700	250	-	4	200	75	19,920.00
6. Gossner	11	20	224	31,263	12,078	1,849	79	3,800	1,100	36,914.32
7. Leipzig	20	21	306	13,103	4,040	808	137	8,062	820	61,106.16
8. Herrmannsburg	64	76	37	11,220	5,061	1,221	68	3,028	750	43,000.00
9. Chrischona	2	6	2	400	-	-	1	26	?	10,112.16
10. Jerusalem Society	3	1	6	300	100	-	3	140	30	6,321.00
11. Brecklume	2	4	1	-	-	-	1	20	-	8,400.00
12. Berlin Ladies' Society for China	1	1	1	81	?	-	1	40	40	3,621.00
13. Ladies' Society	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,121.28
14. Free Missionaries	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	355.68
Total	342	517	2,564	198,975	72,706	10,827	791	40,643	16,293	649,722.48
		(10)	(30)	(1,820)	(4,530)	(20)	(49)	(4,070)		

Recapitulation of Increase in the last Decade.

1. Unitas Fratrum	7	(-10)		20,336	5,833			2,047		
2. Basle	5	(-9)		7,715	3,623			2,438		
3. Berlin	12	6		8,430	2,042			1,649		
4. Rhenish	14	8		5,335	3,827			1,242		
5. North German	-	2		450	90			30		
6. Gossner	-	1		10,104	5,307			?		
7. Leipzig	4	4		3,623	1,040			1,213		
8. Herrmannsburg	5	16		8,915	3,509			?		
Total	47	18		64,967	25,271			8,619 ²		

[¹ All receipts and outlays are given by Dr. Grundemann in marks, which we have reduced to dollars, at the rate of 24 cents to the mark. This, of course, involves a slight waste in all financial statements of societies outside of Germany. — Tr.]

[² The asterisk affixed to a few numbers in the tables is not explained by Dr. Grundemann. — Tr.]

GERMAN SOCIETIES (continued).

TABLE II.

I. AFRICA.

Recapitulation.

Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Total Expenditures in Dollars.
		European.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
West Africa	18	22*	104*	5,567*	2,846*	524*	63*	1,686*	494*	39,204.00
		+10	+30	+150	+200		+1	+150	+60	+14,400.00
South Africa	8	186	619	51,112	19,579	3,761	123*	10,926	1,389*	79,190.40
							+40		+3,600	+31,200.00
East Africa	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	609.84
Total of German Missions in Africa	152	219	753	57,229	22,125	4,285	229	12,762	5,488	165,204.24
		(10)	(30)	(550)	(200)		(43)	(150)	(3,650)	(45,600.00)

II. ASIA.

	4	5	8	700	100	?	4	166	30	15,325.68
Palestine	63	121	743	52,847	16,561	2,949	237	7,266	1,066	158,256.28
Hither India				+300	+4,080	+20	+75	+3,800	+1,950	+12,000.00
Farther India	1	2	?	100	40	4	2	50	20	2,172.72
Indian Archipelago	24	31	209	9,525	2,680	755	24	1,610	740	23,642.80
China	12	21	88	3,679	1,640	207	28	655	145	47,528.16
					+60				+33	
Total of German Missions in Asia	104	180	1,043	67,151	25,161	3,985	370	13,547	4,006	258,824.64
				(1,100)	(4,280)	(20)	(77)	(3,850)	(2,803)	(12,000.00)

III. AUSTRALIA AND POLYNESIA.

a. AUSTRALIAN CONTINENT.										
Unitas Fratrum	2	3		111	30	(-4)	2	43	20	928.76
Herrmannsburg	1	3		30	-	?	1	20	-	2,400.00
b. NEW ZEALAND.										
North German	1	1		150	50	-	1	50	25	1,440.00
Herrmannsburg	2	2		?	?	?	?	?	?	1,200.00
Total of German Missions in Australia and Polynesia.	6	9		281*	80*	(-4)*	4*	113*	45*	5,968.76
				(170)	(50)		(2)	(70)	(25)	(5,040.00)

GERMAN SOCIETIES (concluded).

IV. AMERICA.

Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.		Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
	Number of Stations.	European.	Native Helpers.						Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
a. GREENLAND AND LABRADOR.											
Unitas Fratrum	12	20	68	2,808	1,342	43	30	596	286		3,221.76
b. UNITED STATES.											
Unitas Fratrum	3	6	10	276	113	-	2	86	17		1,530.00
c. WEST INDIES, INCLUDING MOSQUITO COAST.											
Unitas Fratrum	49	38	473	40,698	16,048	757	124	11,307	5,423		13,204.48
d. SOUTH AMERICA.											
Unitas Fratrum	16	86	217	25,632	7,937	1,311	23	2,230	1,128		1,751.52
Total of German Missions in America.	80	109	768	69,314	25,340	2,111	188	14,221	6,859		24,707.76

General Recapitulation.

Africa	162	219	753	57,229	22,125	4,235	229	12,762	5,483		165,204.24
Asia	104	180	1,043	67,151	25,161	3,925	370	13,547	4,006		258,824.64
Australia	6	9	-	281	80	(-4)	4	113	45		5,963.76
America	80	109	768	69,314	25,340	2,111	188	14,221	6,859		24,707.76
Outlay at Home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		196,151.92 ¹
Sum total of German Missions	342	517	2,564	193,975	72,706	10,317	791	40,643	16,393		649,832.23

TABLE III.

Recapitulation.

RECEIPTS AND HOME EXPENSES IN DOLLARS AND CENTS.

Received from

Germany. ²	England.	North America.	Holland.	France.	Denmark.	Norway.	Sweden.	Russia.	Colonias.	Funds and Other Sources.	Missionary Gr. om.
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M
524,945.23 (24,680.64)	22,796.24 (3,840.00)	19,379.92	9,708.72	134.40	(387.84) ³	-	4,310.64	12,270.45	3,902.88	81,361.44	9,218.16

689,916.00 (28,520.64).

Amount of Contributions from Switzerland, \$68,403.60. From outside of Germany, (B-K) \$73,955.23.

Home Outlays,⁴ \$196,151.92 (14,160.00).¹ A discrepancy of \$120.00 from Table I. I cannot make out where the mistake has occurred, without the use of more time than I have at command.² And Switzerland.³ Interest included under L.⁴ Inclusive of training, outfit, and travel of Missionaries, etc.

B. BRITISH SOCIETIES.

TABLE I.

Recapitulation.

Missionary Societies.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		European.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Soc. Prop. Gospel	141	172	1,122	120,292 (4,125)	31,974 (1,490)	7,538	731	24,937 (2,750)	5,539 (950)	306,331.84
2. Bapt. M. S.	86	76	391	78,645 (40,073)	38,572	842	206 (20)	8,296 (1,200)	2,041 (500)	267,963.56
3. London M. S.	119	143	5,426	444,513	108,530	1,300	2,113	131,291	46,331 (25,000)	544,645.92
4. Church M. S.	216	268	3,131	178,608	41,757	8,836	1,694	69,710	18,448 (700)	1,091,012.40
5. Wesleyan Meth. M. S.	371	232	4,096 (2,000)	436,217 (2,465)	114,937	9,513	1,365 (150)	145,436 (2,100)	59,014 (1,000)	493,068.64
6. General Bapt. M. S.	11	7	23	3,246	1,222	50	25	1,304	247	32,406.96
7. Estab. C. of Scotland	14	22	96	1,254	462	148	43	4,721	311	132,638.16
8. Irish Presb. M.	6	14	38	1,710	370	25	25	2,064	400	29,349.12
9. Welsh Calv. Meth.	7	7	14	2,604	743	267	37	1,143	316	20,683.92
10. Free Ch. Scotland	27	69	234	8,915 (1,200)	4,700	431	227	15,115	4,304	848,772.32
11. So. Amer. M. S.	2	7	-	180	?	?	2	50	?	20,993.08
12. Eng. Presb. M.	5	28	73	4,099	2,912	154	28	550	127 (50)	89,776.12
13. Un. Presb. F. M.	72	61	426	28,631 (17,100)	11,221	759	195 (78)	11,277 (350)	3,030	170,098.32
14. Indian Female Normal S. S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	1,345	1,345	49,610.16
15. Melanesian M.	26	9	45	1,000	?	-	257 (35)	40	?	41,063.68
16. Un. Meth. Free Churches	19	16	147	15,894 (9,450)	6,444	364	52	4,370	1,630	26,229.86
17. Methodist New Connection	8	5	54	2,196 (1,000)	1,186	81	12	142	?	13,531.68
18. Universities M. to Central Africa	6	45	17	150	?	?	12	237	84	80,049.34
19. Christ. Vernac. Ed. Soc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	170	7,599	?	56,800.39
20. China Inland M.	25	66	102	2,100 (1,000)	1,100	20	?	?	?	63,521.28
21. Friends' Foreign M. A.	3	8	-	28 (12)	25 (8)	?	121	14,101	5,025 (5,015)	28,986.24
22. Primitive Meth. M. S.	1	4	2	756 (400)	356	?	?	?	?	12,574.08
23. Livingstone Inland M.	7	14	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	24,576.00
24. Soc. for Pro. Fem. Ed. in the East	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35,720.43
Total	1,167 (11)	1,268 (1)	15,490 (2,000)	1,330,038	306,501 (1,489)	30,659 (35)	7,123 (571)	443,318 (11,585)	147,262 (38,387)	4,041,353.04

BRITISH SOCIETIES (continued).

Recapitulation of Increase in the last Decade.

Missionary Societies.	Number of Stations.		Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditure in Dollars and Cents.
	European.	Native Helpers.	European.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1. S. P. G.	13	-		67,688	19,204			9,087			165,231.84
2. Bapt. M. S.	3	17		15,645	10,011			2,011			95,473.28
3. London M. S.	-	(-8)		6,646	10,553			69,982			32,485.92
4. Church M. S.	60	62		71,840	19,202			19,860			227,012.40
5. Wesley. Meth.	168	(43)		70,907	13,718			19,824			25,968.64
6. General Bapt.	6	2		788	573			305			(-14,008.53)
7. Estab. Ch. Scotland.	9	15		573	136			-1,633			59,643.36
8. Irish Presb.	-	6		1,112	232			855			13,134.72
9. Welsh Calv. Meth.	3	2		762	212			232			3,482.88
10. Free Ch. of Scotland.	7	32		3,724	2,292			3,949			200,749.48
11. So American S.	-	3		130	?			20			3,238.08
12. Eng. Presb.	-	14		?	870			275			50,811.36
13. U. P. F. M.	21	16		?	4,366			2,622			20,309.52
14. Female Normal Sch. S.	?	-		-	-			?			?
15. Melanes. M.	?	?		?	?			?			?
16. U. Meth. F. C.	6	2		2,894	1,900			2,385			12,906.96
17. Meth. N. Conn.	1	3		?	944			?			4,200.48
Total	296	118		241,809	84,113			132,007			958,029.36

TABLE II.

Recapitulation.

I. AFRICA.

Mission Fields.										
West Africa	85	65	558	74,452	26,536	2,950	224	15,671	5,741	204,997.92
South Africa	160	112	672	127,958	29,895	5,102	316	20,888	10,163	294,425.04
East Africa	25	83	46	1,259	827	169	30	1,167	122	194,543.76
Egypt	1	1	-	?	-	-	14	100	130	4,391.04
African Islands	38	52	4,212	268,569	67,711	296	1,059	94,028	133	135,180.48
							10	150	30,060	
Total of British Missions in Africa	309	313	5,488	479,373 (7,105)	123,909 (30)	8,517	1,694 (76)	134,154 (2,450)	47,609 (31,450)	808,538.24

BRITISH SOCIETIES (continued).

II. ASIA.

Mission Fields.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		European.	Native Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
a. Western Asia	11	12	68	2,103	459	51	44	2,143	200	50,361.60
b. India and Ceylon	490	441	5,580	267,817	64,686	12,646	3,607	168,142	39,425	1,655,871.60
c. Farther India	+5	7	77	+14,475	+1,418		+40	+515	+1,115	
d. Indian Archipelago	9	11	16	3,344	829	320	8	200	50	18,845.52
e. China	66	179	544	16,458	12,174	1,267	158	8,762	1,196	381,168.72
f. Japan	+26	+1		+4,456			+16	+570	+230	
	11	20	31	744	419	145	+7	102	89	40,716.24
				+249				+350	+130	
Total of British Missions in Asia	551 (31)	671 (1)	6,316	308,806 (19,180)	81,872 (1,418)	14,813	3,900 (71)	176,770 (1,635)	42,578 (1,725)	2,164,291.68

III. AUSTRALIA AND POLYNESIA.

New Zealand, C.M.S. Polynesia	16 49	17 44	293 638	31,865 208,708	2,550 53,213	192 1,069	9 532	462 8,762	100 31,909	21,853.44 60,400.44
Melanesia	33	18	+2,000 204	11,943 +1,200	3,591	226 +35	+355 144	5,188 +800	2,328	80,397.12
Total of British Missions in Australia and Polynesia	98	79	3,135 (2,000)	263,716 (1,200)	59,654	1,522 (35)	1,040 (355)	78,894 (950)	34,887 (150)	162,660.00

IV. AMERICA.

a. British North America	45	35	76	11,060	1,516	542	37	948	380	95,874.43
b. West Indies	140	148	475	217,100	94,707	3,076	889	44,963	17,317	127,368.24
c. South America	15	22	72	49,040 16,679	5,208	2,189	+61 47	+4,100 909	+3,600 306	24,708.44
							+5	+2,250	+1,080	
Total of British Missions in America	209	205	623	298,179 (49,340)	101,476 (50)	5,807	499 (76)	53,500 (6,650)	22,683 (5,060)	247,946.16

General Recapitulation.

Africa	309	313	5,488	479,378	123,999	8,517	1,634	134,154	47,009	808,588.24
Asia	551	671	6,316	303,806	81,872	14,813	3,900	176,770	42,578	2,164,291.68
Australia	98	79	3,135	263,716	59,654	1,522	1,040	78,894	34,887	162,660.00
America	209	205	623	298,179	101,476	5,807	499	53,500	22,683	247,946.16
Home Outlays	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	662,901.60
Sum total of British Missions	1,167 (31)	1,268 (1)	15,562 (2,000)	1,380,074 (76,825)	396,501 (1,498)	30,659 (35)	7,123 (573)	443,318 (11,685)	147,252 (38,385)	4,041,387.63

BRITISH SOCIETIES (concluded).

TABLE III.

RECEIPTS AND HOME EXPENSES IN DOLLARS AND CENTS.

Home Outlays.	The Receipts were from					Missionary Ground.
	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.	Colonies.	Funds and Other Sources	
	3,320,904.72	1,883.28	2,886.32	103,179.60	570,781.44	197,768.40
662,901.60	4,197,493.76					

C. AMERICAN SOCIETIES.

Recapitulation.

Societies.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		American.	Foreign Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. A. B. C. F. M.	72	146	1,498	83,630 (20,411)	26,107	1,687	948 (60)	37,458	14,764 (13,215)	467,545.12
2. Am. Bapt. Miss. Union.	42	82	814	157,549 103,000	53,649	2,458	494	13,168	4,850 (2,902)	295,494.88
3. Am. M. E. Board	90	90	376	21,474 (4,100)	8,750	2,172	473	17,412	5,300 (5,300)	220,951.68
4. P. E. Board	45	54	177	5,640 (2,600)	1,664	169	77 (20)	2,267	820 (650)	162,474.48
5. Free Baptist	9	5	15	2,709 (14,100)	551	6	50 (328)	3,069	1,000 (250)	18,823.04
6. Presbyterian	70	133	234	24,120 (8,802)	10,020	812	843 (122)	17,627	5,120 (864)	490,717.20
7. Evan. Lutheran (Gen. Synod)	5	5	57	8,802	3,051	944	122 (20)	3,136	864 (600)	21,984.72
8. Seventh-day Bapt.	1	1	5	62 (30)	32	2	2	54	9	6,552.96
9. Southern Bapt.	12	20	24	5,722 (4,100)	2,135	52	19 (10)	578	145 (145)	27,747.84
10. So. M. E.	12	19	117	13,308 (8,201)	5,017	407	24	801	228 (50)	50,545.92
11. A. M. A.	11 (10)	13	38	1,055 (500)	395	?	52 (12)	2,220	70 (70)	32,620.96
12. U. Brethren in Christ (not Moravians)	3	6	24	1,244 (800)	444	82	15 (15)	331	100 (100)	18,376.32
13. Ref. Ch. in Am. (Dutch)	11	20	72	7,546 (700)	3,052	198	75	2,198	507 (507)	77,781.12
14. U. Pres.	13	17	226	15,848 (12,700)	2,648	1,129	95	6,834	2,135 (700)	65,232.00
15. Ref. Pres.	2 (2)	5	43	330 (200)	130	16	15 (15)	648	200 (200)	12,284.00
16. So. Pres.	10	17	21	4,324 (3,150)	1,174	20	14	207	44	23,290.80
17. Ger. Evan. Synod	4	4	10	375 (200)	175	28	8 (1)	110	30 (30)	4,053.12
18. Evan. Lutheran (Gen. Council)	4	4	45	1,000	300	220	13	230	70 (70)	8,197.44
19. Chr. F. M. S. (Discip. of Christ)	4	5	-	831	831	-	-	-	-	7,872.00
20. Cumberland Pres.	5 (5)	6	-	2,250 (1,500)	750	-	-	-	-	17,198.40

AMERICAN SOCIETIES (continued).

Societies.	Number of Stations.	Number of Missionaries.		Total Number of Christians.	Communicants.	Accessions by Baptism last year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Scholars.		Expenditures in Dollars and Cents.
		American.	Foreign Helpers.					Both Sexes.	Girls.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
21. Evan. Asso.	1	2	4	296 (150)	146	-	4 (4)	132	50 (50)	8,264.84
22. Meth. Prot.	1	1	-	1,763	-	-	1	44	-	1,461.12
23. Af. M. E.	1	1	7	1,763 (1,100)	668	-	19 (19)	730	250 (250)	8,132.48
24. Af. Meth. Zion C.	-	-	-	200	200	-	-	-	-	-
25. Ass. Ref. Synod	1	1	2	101	50	-	-	-	-	1,008.96
26. Gen. Conf. Methodists	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	40	-	1,949.76
27. Ref. Pres. (Gen. Synod)	1	1	-	79	79	-	20 (20)	749	542	4,800.00 (4,800.00)
28. Friends' Miss.	3 (2)	3 (2)	6 (5)	520 (520)	322 (310)	144	28 (28)	1,070	340 (240)	7,200.00 (7,200.00)
Total	435 (28)	663 (2)	3,965 (5)	380,198 (188,052)	122,325 (1,254)	10,546	2,907 (613)	111,128 (1,000)	37,448 (26,459)	2,042,550.96

Recapitulation of the Increase in the last Decade.

1. A. B. C. F. M.	4	10	-	15,838	1,983	-	-	24,377	-	39,945.12
2. Am. Bapt. Un.	19	38	-	81,349	29,166	-	-	6,554	-	137,084.88
3. M. E. F. M. Board	30	11	-	10,014	3,350	-	-	11,420	-	57,751.68
4. P. E. F. M. Board	28	36	-	3,840	1,043	-	-	1,060	-	62,074.48
5. F. Bapt. F. M. So.	6	-	-	1,909	283	-	-	2,389	-	8,123.54
6. Pres. F. M. Board	6	11	-	10,820	6,100	-	-	6,934	-	27,997.20
7. Evi. Luth. G. S.	1	1	-	6,202	2,297	-	-	2,623	-	1,344.72
8. Seventh-day Bapt.	-	-	-	22	12	-	-	-	-	552.96
9. So. Bapt. F. M. S.	3	10	-	876	689	-	-	?	-	3,987.84
10. M. E. South.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. A. M. A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. U. Brethren in X.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Ref. Ch. (Dutch)	(-2)	4	-	3,046	1,754	-	-	1,274	-	28,809.60
14. Un. Presbyterian	(-6)	6	-	13,648	1,999	-	-	4,576	-	2,306.12
Total	89	127	-	147,009	48,676	-	-	61,907	-	354,877.44

[To be continued.]

THE NEW MOVEMENT TOWARD UNITY.¹

THIS compact volume of the Proceedings of the American Congress of Churches is an important contribution to the interest in Christian Unity in the United States, and to the present state of opinion in regard to it among men of widely differing beliefs. It records the beginning and first stages of a movement that must do something to bring separated

¹ *The American Congress of Churches.* Proceedings of the Hartford Meeting, 1885. Published under the Direction of the Executive Committee. 8vo, pp. 149. Hartford: The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company.

Christians together, a movement whose magnitude and importance are likely to increase. The papers and discussions are not final; they are valuable chiefly as indicating the present state of public opinion; they emphasize positions more than they formulate unity; they show how a certain number of representative men feel and think on this subject, but hardly do more than break ground in directions where men have most in common; they indicate what lies within the region of possibility. The questions discussed were "The Relations of a Divided Christendom to Aggressive Christianity," "The Function of Worship in Promoting the Growth of the Church," "The Attitude of the Secular Press toward Religion," and "The Historical Christ as the True Centre of Theology." The religious leaders could not go far wrong on these topics, and they afforded ground for that preliminary skirmishing in which men measure themselves with one another. There is nothing weak or belated in these papers and addresses. Their chief value in a published form is that of initiating a movement, showing the gravity and seriousness of the situation, and of suggesting to thoughtful persons a broader and larger consideration of the grounds of unity and of the measures by which it may be reached. Here is a substantial proof that unity among Protestants is entertained as a future possibility, and that many of our religious leaders are working earnestly in this direction. It is the first evidence in America that the problem of unity has been grappled with in a large way and by a right method. The book is valuable for what it contains, but its chief importance grows out of the forces that are behind it.

The "Congress of Churches" began not as an original movement, but as a revival of what had been attempted through the agency of the Episcopal Church thirty years before by the venerable Dr. William A. Muhlenberg, a movement toward unity for which American religious society was not then prepared. "The last years of Dr. Muhlenberg's life," said its first circular of November 10, 1883, "were spent in persistent and fruitless efforts to establish a Commission on Christian Unity, reaching forth to the scattered bodies of Protestants from the basis of the Anglican Communion." There was something inspiring in asking the prophets of the day to come together for the peace of the kingdom of God under the leadership of Dr. Muhlenberg's name, and in continuation of the movement in which he failed because he was in advance of his age. The Berkshire men appeared with the mantle of Muhlenberg on their shoulders. It was like the form of Samuel rising from the grave and inspiring men for fresh services in bringing together the brethren of a common faith.

Dr. Muhlenberg, at the moment when the Episcopal Church began to rise to something higher than the party spirit which had given it too largely the method and spirit of sectarianism, rose to the level of memorializing the House of Bishops on the subject of the relations of his own branch of the Church of Christ to those of his Protestant brethren in America. It was the first time that the idea of the federation of the Christian organizations in this country had been distinctly proposed, the first time that any one saw the Church of Christ in America as a comprehensive unity. Bishop Alonzo Potter, one of the foremost ecclesiastical statesmen which our country has produced, understood the content and aim of the "Memorial Movement," as it was then called, better than any other man of his generation, and his volume of "Memorial Papers" is the only book in our literature where Christian Unity has yet been ade-

quately discussed. It is something to be remembered that the religious body whose immediate prospects in this country thirty years ago were the darkest has been the first to take a stand for unity and definitely to forecast the future upon this basis. The movement was in abeyance until Dr. Muhlenberg had passed away, but the spirit which he had aroused remained and waited for its opportunity.

There is a spiral movement in religious as in secular history; the past is always related to the present; there are times when the spirit of the past is breathed anew into the forces that control present life. It was such a time, November 10, 1883, the four hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Luther, the father of the Reformation, when the call was issued from the Berkshire hills for "an inter-ecclesiastical Congress, to be to the different religious bodies of Protestant Christendom what the Church Congress has been to the Protestant Episcopal Church." The belief was expressed that the fullness of time for such a gathering had come, and that all schools of thought in the American Protestant Church would unite in the effort to bring representative men together upon the basis of some common platform. "The movement must begin somewhere," wrote President Porter from New Haven, "and why not among the Berkshire hills?" Thus felt the Rev. William Wilberforce Newton, a Berkshire clergyman, who had already written editorial articles on the subject in "The Christian Union," and had felt his way to the minds and hearts of the Christian clergy of Pittsfield, where he resided, to the extent that they had signed with him the call for the inter-ecclesiastical Congress. It was such a venture of hope as Noah showed when he sent first the raven and then the dove from the window of the ark to see if the waters were abated. When asked his opinion of his rector's plan, one of his wardens promptly replied: "I think it's a humbug." Ninety-nine people out of every hundred among Christians would probably have said the same. Mr. Newton and his associates trusted their spiritual intuitions and went forward, but it was a day of doubt and darkness and small things. The first response came from "The New York Churchman," in which the meaning of the movement was at once recognized. It said:—

"This call for an inter-ecclesiastical Congress, for a free utterance of convictions, for a large platform on which earnest men can meet without compromise, may prove to be the missing link in efforts for unity, and the fact that it comes like the voice of St. John in the wilderness, the voice of almost unknown men — it may be the voice of God speaking through them by his Spirit — entitles the call to an amount of deference and sympathy which otherwise it might not seem entitled to receive. Luther had no thought of the Reformation, though there was the consciousness of a mighty revolution going on in his own soul. So no men may now have large hopes ahead, but, in so far as they stand together to-day, and stand for unity, they have the prayers and hopes of at least Protestant Christendom behind them. It is a time to pause and hear what God may put into the hearts of men to say. Is the note-message from Berkshire a sign of the new day?"

These words of welcome were fairly representative of the feeling in many quarters toward the movement, and are almost prophetic of the way in which it has been received and grown to its present size. The following extract from an editorial in "The Boston Herald" indicates still more clearly what was aimed at:—

"It is only through a comparison of views, and through the higher education

that comes from honest discussion, that we are to reach that spiritual force in ecclesiastical organization which is able to use men and money to advantage in spiritual things. . . . The Episcopal Church is in a position to be of special service in the possible reconstruction of Christian bodies in America, but this ought not to lead any member of that body to think that it has a monopoly of grace, wisdom, or good works. There is not a single religious body in the whole country, entitled to call itself Christian, that has not in the course of its history wrought nobly in the service of religious ideas, and is not entitled to a hearing. When the question is how the interests of Christianity can best be maintained or advanced in America, all but 'Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics' have a right to be heard. The point is not that each may contribute bricks to a new Protestant Babel, but that each, in the presence of the other, may perceive the things in which they agree, and be willing to learn of others in a teachable spirit about their honest differences. The dream of Christian Unity is one of the innocent vagaries of men who know nothing of the world. Unity in the sense of uniformity is not needed to-day and could not be tolerated, but unity of organization, unity in general spirit and purpose, unity in which the many-sidedness of religious truth is fully recognized, is evidently the feeling which has asked for an inter-ecclesiastical Congress; and if this sort of unity shall be made to seem more desirable, and men of faiths at present divergent shall come to work together under larger plans, and in such a way that the great forces of the Church of Christ in history shall animate and inspire their labors, there can be no question as to the results that may be reached."

The steps taken to carry the plan of the Berkshire pastors into effect were in keeping with such a large scheme. "The next step," said Rector Newton, "toward coming together is to come together." The second circular, published January 10, 1884, stated that the signers of the original call, J. L. Jenkins, Wm. Wilberforce Newton, T. T. Munger, George Skene, George W. Gile, C. H. Hamlin, and J. M. Turner, had met together on New Year's Day, and that the letters received "were so numerous and encouraging, though the difficulties were not overlooked, that it was impossible not to regard them as a response of approval and a summons to onward movement." It was then "decided to ask two clergymen and one layman from the religious bodies represented by the signers, and also from the Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch Churches, to act with the signers of the call in considering what further steps should be taken." Bishop Clark pointed out the difficulty in one direction. He said:—

"I like the idea of 'an inter-ecclesiastical Church Congress' very much, and think that it might result in much good, provided that certain delicate preliminaries could be wisely adjusted. Among these, as it seems to me, the most troublesome would be to determine just where to drop the line between those denominations who are orthodox enough to be represented and those who are not."

A rector in Philadelphia made a good point in another direction. He said of the projected Congress:—

"To be of any practical effect it must contain at least some of the men whom the party spirit of each sect will trust. These men will be hard to secure, but their presence will be necessary. Much, indeed everything, will depend upon the preliminary conference. If that conference can agree upon a policy, upon men, and can approach such men so as to secure their presence and voice, it will succeed; otherwise not."

Judge Dewey wrote:—

"I am in strong sympathy with the movement, and would be glad to do any-

thing in aid of it. I shall be disappointed if this feeling does not prove to be wide-spread among intelligent laymen."

A New England clergyman said :—

"The Lord be with you. I don't feel sure who else will be! I don't feel sure that the time has come for your movement. But one thing is sure, you can't find out until you try. Certainly, if I know myself, I am a good deal nearer to Munger than I am to Dix. . . . In these days of Luther anniversaries I don't see why Protestants should not draw a little closer together."

Another Episcopal rector wrote :—

"I am surprised that none of your clerical friends on the call objected to the language of it, as it seems to me to base the project on the P. E. Church position, which I fear may hurt it elsewhere."

Professor Andrews, of Brown University, wrote :—

"I hope that your enterprising Berkshire clergymen will go forward in this important enterprise, even should the response to your tentative not be as large or as hearty as could be wished. I believe that great good may come of such an effort, and that God has put the thought in your hearts."

Dr. Howard Crosby said :—

"Anything that will bring Christians together on the grand basis of love to their divine Saviour, letting them hold individual opinions on all else, is in accord with my life-long sentiments. I am ready to attend any Congress framed on this basis, and to coöperate in any movement of this kind."

Dr. James Freeman Clarke wrote of the proposed Congress :—

"I expect no success till we can make it a union for Christian work, not belief, and have Jesus Christ himself, not any theory about Him, as the chief corner-stone."

Mr. Joseph Cook wrote :—

"A divine breath is sounding in the tops of the spiritual forests on the Berkshire hills!"

These are a few of the greetings which met the call for an inter-ecclesiastical Church Congress. There was an instant recognition among representative minds, and, if the full correspondence were published, it would explain why the Berkshire clergymen issued on the 24th of May, 1884, the call for their first conference, which was held on the 18th of June following. At that meeting the Hon. Justin Dewey was chosen chairman, and Bishop Clark, President Julius H. Seelye, and Dr. Joseph Anderson were added to the force of the Berkshire clergy; the name "The American Congress of Churches" was decided upon, and its object was declared to be "to promote Christian union, and to advance the kingdom of God by a free discussion of the great religious, moral and social questions of the time." It was determined that the idea of the Church Congress, so-called, should serve as the model of the new organization, and the circular of the original committee was in substance indorsed. It was also voted that the general management of the new organization should be intrusted to a committee, not exceeding twenty-five in number, in which both clergymen and laymen should be represented; that the original committee, now increased to eight members, should increase its number to twenty-five; and that as soon as the election and acceptance of fifteen members had been secured, the large committee should be convened for the work intrusted to them. It was further decided to hold the first meeting of the "American Congress of

Churches" in May, 1885, and that it should be convened at intervals of two years. The committee of twenty-five was now completed by the addition of representatives from the different leading denominations, and the organization of the Congress was fully arranged.

It was at this juncture that Dr. Heman Dyer, one of the most sagacious and influential of the elder Episcopal clergy, wrote:—

"Nearly all my life, certainly for more than fifty years, I have been laboring with others to break in pieces the cast-iron ecclesiasticism which has so cramped and disfigured our common Christianity, and I thank God and take courage for what in my old age I am permitted to see. Just look at our own church. What changes have already taken place, and what still greater changes are in the near future! I shout and wonder at what is going on. I tell you my heart is jubilant, and I feel like throwing up my cap and giving one big hurrah. God be praised for it all. . . . One of the last things which will disappear from the Christian world will be our denominationalism. I suspect that up near the gates of the heavenly city there are and long will be heaps of this old rubbish. I hope at the first Congress that some giant will have assigned to him the subject of the uses and abuses of this denominationalism."

Dr. George P. Fisher expresses himself as "in full sympathy with the spirit and purposes of the originators of the plan for an 'American Congress of Churches.'" From this point onward it was felt that the movement had been fairly launched, and only needed the good judgment of its promoters and friends to carry it on to a fair degree of success. The committee of twenty-five had now been appointed, and many of the best men in all parts of the country could be counted on as strongly in its favor. A great advantage had also been gained in securing sympathy and coöperation without raising any antagonism. The question now came up, and was settled affirmatively, whether the left-handed Christian bodies, and those that enter the Christian world by a single issue, should be allowed to participate in the proceedings of the first meeting. The men in charge of the movement had the mind to meet this and other related questions on the high plane of their aspirations. It was felt that the Congress had gathered support far and wide, and that it had drawn men together in sympathy because it did not attempt to realize a dream, but was rather content with doing what was possible and practicable. At a meeting of the committee of twenty-five held in New Haven November 20, 1884, the movement was still further systematized. It was then decided to hold the first meeting in Hartford, and subsequent meetings in the spring of every year, and many matters of detail were digested. There remained little to do beyond the launching of the enterprise in Hartford in the following spring, and the efforts of Rector Newton and his Berkshire associates had been so taken up and divided among excellent workers that the earnest of success was already essentially assured. Beginning, as has been seen, with a certain assumption of the Episcopal position as the basis of conference and action, the movement now needed broadening in its interpretation as it came before the public and asked for the support of Christian people of various names, and perhaps no man in New England could have been chosen to make the preparations and supervise the appointments of the first meeting who had in his character and composition the qualities of a wise and judicious leader in a higher degree than Dr. Joseph Anderson. The success of the Hartford meeting was evident from the start; the whole thing took shape, as a vessel glides from its stays into the element in

which it is henceforth to live, on the first evening; the difficulty of bringing men together and starting the inert man quickly disappeared in the face of the enthusiasm of the first session, and before the meeting was over, to use the subsequent words of Bishop Coxe, "even more had been gained than we could have foreseen," while Dr. James Freeman Clarke could say of it out of a warm heart:—

"It satisfied me that 'the fullness of time had come' for this movement. All other methods of making the Church one having failed, we may now, I believe, fall back on the original method of 'the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.'"

But the success at Hartford was due in a very large degree to Dr. Anderson's discreet management as chairman of the executive committee, and to the fraternal spirit existing in Hartford among Protestant Christians, which had prepared the public to appreciate the larger unity which the Congress had in view.

While attention was given to the inauguration of the movement for unity in the East a counter development was going forward in St. Louis. During the Lenten season of 1885 the Rev. Dr. John Fulton, the rector of St. George's, had invited the representative clergymen of six different denominations to give lectures on Sundays to the congregation in his own church, and had received the sanction of the Bishop of Missouri, Dr. Robertson, for the act. These lectures attracted much attention, and their delivery was warmly indorsed by several other American bishops. It was believed that no real bar to this preaching existed in the canons of the Episcopal Church, and Dr. Fulton had the courage of his convictions to test the comprehensiveness of his own communion. The aim of this act of courtesy toward the clergy of other religious bodies in the city was to show that the Church to which Dr. Fulton belonged would go as far as any other religious communion in a matter that concerned Christian unity. It drew attention to the subject in the West, and prepared the way for the proposed holding of the second meeting of the Congress next spring in St. Louis. After these Lenten lectures were over, and two of the Berkshire clergy had visited St. Louis, Bishop Robertson wrote as follows:—

"My own key-thought is here. Every good gift is of God's Holy Spirit. Our separated brethren, those outside of lines which we have been accustomed to regard as alone historic and regular, have for a succession of generations brought forth the fruits of the Spirit. They are not, speaking broadly, degenerating. The old theory to which we were early made accustomed, that their life was that of the branch which will not wither for some time after it is broken off, will not serve. They have a well-spring of life. If these are facts, then we must reconstruct our theories and grant that there is life, that there are graces, that there are functions, honored of God, outside of our historic lines. We must recast our theories to fit these facts. It is no concession to honor what God's Holy Spirit honors."

These words have the right ring, and are the substance of a remarkable sermon delivered a year ago before the annual convention of the diocese of Missouri. They show that the spirit of Dr. Muhlenberg now rules in the minds and hearts of the authorized leaders of the Church to which he belonged. They manifest that fidelity to tradition and to fact, without which no real progress can be made in the religious world.

It is easy to magnify a movement which as yet has barely made a ripple in ecclesiastical circles. But it is not a small thing to have over-

come the fears of many cautious men who cannot afford to make a mistake, and to have made a favorable impression. The gain at Hartford was the gain of a new method. The movement, begun in the Berkshire hills, has grown to its present importance not so much because it had strong men to lead it as because God put it into the minds and hearts of earnest and honest men to go forward to do what they could. It has grown out of the mutual quickening of individual hearts, the increasing sympathy of Christian people with one another, and seems destined to do something to break down the lines of separation which the clergy have built up between those whose duty it is to love one another. It advances by the right method. There is nothing like the free and thorough discussion of vital questions to make people see what they have in common. Nothing satisfies the public so much as a discussion which goes beyond the limitations of a single denomination. The Congress of Churches discusses religious questions upon the basis of the interests of the entire country. It offers for the first time in America a free ecclesiastical parliament. The present tendency in democratic commonwealths is to magnify the individual at the expense of the community. The aim of the Congress of Churches is to bring men to see truth from more than one point of view, and to break down needless partition-walls. It looks toward the organization of the religious life of the people upon a more comprehensive basis than has yet been reached, and is likely to do something to bring up the arrears where ecclesiastical divisions have prevented Christianity from building up society upon a proper ethical foundation. Christian unity may be far off, but the preparation for it is the duty of the hour, and the "Congress of Churches" can do much to prepare the way. This is its sphere and field of work.

Julius H. Ward.

BOSTON, MASS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

PROPHECY AND HISTORY in relation to the Messiah; the Warburton Lectures for 1880-1884, with two appendices on the arrangement, analysis, and recent criticism of the Pentateuch. By ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M. A. Oxon., D. D., Ph. D., author of "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah." Pp. xxiv, 391. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 1885.

PROPHECY and History look forward to the coming kingdom of God. To show this with reference to Old Testament history and prophecy is the object of this book. It consists of twelve lectures given in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, London, in the years 1880-1884. The first lecture shows the connection of Christianity with the Old Testament, and the vast importance of that connection. A strong Messianic hope existed in the hearts of the Jewish people at the time when the Christ appeared. This is evident from the many false Christs who, notwithstanding the absurdity of their claims, drew away great multitudes of the people. This Messianic hope was not of recent origin. It did not originate in post-exilic times, but had its root in the Old Testament, the whole of which is prophetic of a king who should reign in righteousness over a ransomed world. The second lecture aims to illustrate the prophetic character of the Old Testament, and to show that its leading, pervading idea is the

kingdom of God. Prophecy is not history written in advance. Often the fulfillment does not correspond literally to the prediction. The prophets were instructors and reformers of the times in which they lived, but their instructions are given in the light of coming events, and so are for the enlightenment of every generation. The third lecture shows that Old Testament prophecy was fulfilled in Jesus Christ, or if not fulfilled in Him can never be fulfilled in any other. Interesting testimony is given from the Talmud and other Jewish authorities respecting the deep and wide-reaching impression made by Jesus of Nazareth upon the priests and rabbis of the time, bringing to mind the words of James to Paul, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe." Pliny's letter is quoted and commented on for the same purpose. The fourth lecture begins with an examination of the fifty-third of Isaiah to illustrate the principle that prophecy is to be interpreted by its fulfillment. The prophetic reference is made clear by the historic event. Many other special predictions can be interpreted only as relating to the Messiah, but the author thinks it of more account to maintain that the Old Testament as a whole is Messianic and full of Christ than to lay stress on the Messianic application of individual prophecies. The fifth lecture sets forth the supremacy of the moral element in Old Testament history and prophecy, and at the close the lecturer vents his righteous indignation at the indignities recently inflicted in Europe upon the Jews. The sixth lecture is a continued unfolding of the spiritual meaning of the Old Testament. Its prophecy, its history, and all its legal institutions are an exaltation of the divine holiness. The seventh and eighth lectures are an argument for the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. Its Messianic element indicates an early date, and is different from what it would be if written after the settlement of the nation in Canaan. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh lectures set forth the Messianic hope of the Jewish people as seen in their apocryphal literature and in the later stages of their history. The twelfth and last lecture is an admirable characterization of John the Baptist and his relation to the Messiah.

The intervals between the delivery of these lectures may have occasioned some diffuseness and repetition of argument, but there is one grand moving idea set forth in them from beginning to end with ever unfolding clearness, and that is the promised kingdom of God which shall unite all men in the one Divine Man who reconciles men with God, and in so doing reconciles them with one another. Many readers will wish that the author had given more instances of the application of special prophecies to Christ, and had shown more particularly how the prophets, while speaking for their contemporaries and writing histories of their own times, were also writing perpetual histories, and declaring things to come; or how the same Scripture applicable to the generation in which it was written is also progressively applicable to all succeeding generations. It is undoubtedly so, and perhaps is plain enough to every reader of the Scriptures. The author uses this illustration (page 129), "The reading of prophecy seems like gazing through a telescope which is successively drawn out in such manner as to adapt the focus to the varying vision." He rejects the "clumsy device of a twofold application of prophecy," but he finds a perpetual application that is to continue through all the ages, and says (page 130), "We might almost apply to prophetism this in the Epistle to the Hebrews: 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.'"

The book is written with an evident earnest faith in Jesus Christ as the fulfillment of all prophecy, the centre of all history. The treatment of the topic is limited to Jewish history, with an occasional reference to Gentile history as parallel with it. Would that some one of equal earnestness and ability might take up the same topic with reference to the history of the ancient Gentile world, and show also its prophetic character in relation to Christianity. For does not the gospel have a very close relation to other preëxisting religions besides the Jewish? Was not the Gentile development, as well as the Jewish, preparatory to the coming Lord of all? Paul, I think, would have answered these inquiries in the affirmative, and Daniel's interpretation of Belshazzar's dream teaches the same thought also.

Edward Robie.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM. Its Origin and Early History. Together with an Appendix of Letters and Documents, many of which have recently been discovered. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D. D., Davenport Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. With Maps. Large 16mo, pp. xviii, 373. Appendix, pp. cxlii. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THIS is a frank, hearty, manly, large-minded book, the Presbyterianism of which is all the more thorough because the author emphatically rejects the assumption that it is final, but holds it only for a very eminent development within the church, destined, after the perfect explication of its specific excellences, to be merged into "the main of waters" of reconstituted and reunited Christendom. For the author, with bold brotherhood, will not stop with Protestantism, but embraces the whole church, in her elder and her younger forms alike, in his foresight of reunion. A Puritan can afford this. If there is any Protestant church whose theology does not ring clear and full of the *fides sola*, and in whose government the people have but dubious rights, such a church may well be tempted to cover its defects by vaunting itself the peculiar champion of Protestantism, and scornfully refusing to look yet further in its forecast of final inclusion. But Presbyterianism, so sound, so popular and yet so stable, historic yet thoroughly modern and fresh, warmly experimental, but with an experience raised by its profound indoctrination above all the mawkishness of mere pietism, maintaining a manly hold on public interests, yet above the faintest suspicion of manipulating them for its own ecclesiastical ends, she, in the lead of her sister forms of Puritanism, can afford to be as large in forecast as the Spirit of Christ may bid her be.

We never knew before how near Presbyterianism, prior to the Revolution, came to being the church of the country, as overwhelmingly predominant in the colonies at large, at least in the central ones, as Congregationalism in New England. In 1759 the Presbyterians proper had in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York 100 ministers, and with the Dutch Reformed 120, against 43 of other denominations in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Indeed, adding some probable estimates, the Presbyterianism of the three national types, British, Dutch, and German, had 145 ministers, and, throwing out the South, 122 against 43. The rupture of the Synod consequent on the Great Awakening ruined the prospect of ascendancy. Dr. Briggs sees the hand of God in the failure. The realization, he says, might well have

involved a premature struggle with the crown, and would certainly have established a system which had not yet mastered, and thus largely in the ascendant would not soon have mastered, the thought of the free church in the free state. Even now, we venture to say, there is too much of Scottish rigor and solemn cumbrousness of method left in it to admit of its being all that it might be for us. On this weak side it redounds too much to the advantage of a race of sharp and narrow, and somewhat acrid, "ecclesiastical lawyers," as we have heard them designated by the wife of a Presbyterian pastor, now an eminent Congregational professor. But American Presbyterianism is capable of abundant readaptation without ceasing to be Presbyterian. It is curious that in Elizabeth's time that veritable Presbyterian Hildebrand, Thomas Cartwright, teaches that the consent of the church is necessary to all acts of excommunication or deposition. The wide extension of the limited eldership perhaps comes near enough to this element of Congregationalism.

But, taken as it is, the "Independent" has good reason to say that all things considered, — numbers, central position, stability of character, living piety, balance of administration, wealth and learning, and historic dignity, — Presbyterianism may fairly be called the Established Church of the United States. If she follows the line of development laid out for her in this book, in thorough conformity with her original precedents, she will become more illustriously so.

Some of the author's preliminary propositions sound High Church enough. To appearance, Dr. Miller himself was hardly more peremptory in maintaining the absolute necessity of an uninterrupted succession of ordinations by presbyters (bishops, of course, being presbyters) from the apostles till now, in order to the validity of our present ordinations. We in New England, of course, share in this "apostolic succession." But such an assumption here would only provoke a smile. And we fancy that a demure twinkle lurks in the author's eye in propounding it. The truth is, that after breaking the *linea ordinationis* of 1,400 years, no Protestant communion has ever been able to make serious work of disputing any *de facto* ministry of godly men in a godly church, or to balk on such a ground at admitting them *ad eundem*, to her own. The "chief presbyters" robbed their colleagues too thoroughly of all such exclusive pretensions in the second century to give these a chance of reclaiming them in the nineteenth. Even the church of Iona, though she made her presbyter-abbot supreme, always summoned a bishop to ordain. Perhaps if the elders had not been, unscripturally and unhistorically, divided into ordained and unordained, their united force might have carried things farther.

The author sets out with another "sop to Cerberus" of the largest description. He says:

"Presbyterianism is built upon all the previous constructions of Christianity. It is Christian, Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, and Puritan. It comprehends all these characteristics, and rises upon them to the distinctive traits of Presbyterianism."

Having thus "made his manners" to the assumptions of sectarianism within his own particular sect, he slights them pretty thoroughly the rest of the way. The real tenor of the book is much better expressed in this:

"Richard Baxter and a few kindred spirits were the only consistent Puritans. None of the forms of Church government is of divine right. None of

them represents the apostolic model as it is presented in the New Testament or the recently discovered 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.' Only the simple forms common to all the great religious bodies can claim Scripture authority. The government of the Church must adapt itself to the circumstances of the age, and the land, and the people; and so it must assume the form that will best express the religious life of the people."

To be sure, Dr. Briggs speaks of a "moderate Presbyterianism" as "alone worthy to prevail over the world." But his actual definition of this is so elastic as to comprehend pretty much every variety of polity between "the proud prelates" and Independency run mad. This is not true of his formal definition of Presbyterianism, which is lofty and hierarchical enough, but of his practical treatment of it. With a synodical episcopacy, whose centre of gravity should be somewhere between Baxter and Ussher, he repeatedly signifies that true Puritanism need have had no quarrel. Nor can we believe he would insist that the mandatory form is essential, in an advanced state of Christian society, to give due effect to synodical decisions. Indeed, the mandatory form is but poorly suited to the occasions of the spiritual life. Its over-prevalence in Presbyterianism appears to be somewhat owing to the fact that in Scotland the General Assembly, since there was one, has always been the true Parliament of the nation.

The author's formal definitions, indeed, are the most exceptionable part of his book. They are decidedly strained, subjective, and arbitrary. Thus, he certainly makes us stare when he defines the Greek Church as Catholic, but not Orthodox. The reverse statement would have been nearer right. The celebration of the "Sunday of Orthodoxy," by the Holy Orthodox Oriental Church, expresses her true instinct in her choice between the two notes of the undivided Œcumenical Church, in a way which no definitions can upset. Stagnation in the passage out of theology proper of course we allow. It is less objectionable, yet not admissible, to say that the Latin Church has declined into heterodoxy. She has declined into worse things, but not into heterodoxy, for orthodoxy and heterodoxy do not mean truth and error, but an externally and historically accredited standard of truth and error. And as Orthodoxy from the beginning was inclined to say, "*Roma locuta est: causa finita est*," it is a pity we could not leave these disagreeable and frigid terms to those who have the prescriptive right to use and abuse them.

So, both here and in his "Independent" article, Dr. Briggs shocks the general instinct, whose final expression in such matters is infallible, by delighting to call Edwards and the Tennents, Methodists. The little band of Oxford ascetics was, it is true, the hearth on which the holy fire was relumed; but that did not make all among whom it spread Methodists. We might almost as well go farther forth and call them all Moravians. It is with difficulty we call even Whitefield a Methodist, because he so early detached himself from the germ which has since grown into that vast cellular aggregation of societies "having the form and seeking the power of godliness," which has by unconscious and therefore indisputable right substantially absorbed the Methodist name. And why should he make out Methodism to be a revival of Puritanism, merely because it was a revival of experimental piety? George Herbert and Bishop Ken had as much experimental piety as any Puritans, and original Methodism had rather that than the Puritan imprint. Nor has it ever assumed this. Despotism and democratic, hierarchical and popular, shallow in its theology,

facile in its accommodations, in England complaisant to the Crown and in America to the Demos, and at either end essentially incongruous with Puritanism, far more amply just to the genius and gifts of woman, flexible to the free breath of the Spirit as no school of unmixed Puritanism has had in it to be, penetrated through and through with the spirit of Wesley, this magnificent child of the saintly Anglican Loyola has the right to be treated as, in its virtues and its vices alike, a unique and independent development in the church.

The very heart of this book, which will make its author's name venerable and dear to the wiser generations which are coming, is this, that speaking from the very heart of Presbyterianism he so manfully and unflinchingly follows up the denial of the truth "that God alone is Lord of the conscience" into all the evasions by which it has sought to appear as the opposite of itself. He says:—

"The Presbyterian principle recognizes the supremacy of the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures, but declines to imprison his divine energy in its [?] their] external form and letter. Presbyterianism did not reject the authority of the papal church and the prelatical church in order to establish the authority of a Presbyterian church. It did not make the Bible supreme as a book, but as the living word of the living God. It did not bind itself to a written book, but to the Holy Spirit, who uses the Bible (written or spoken) as a means of grace. Presbyterianism recognizes the enthroned Christ as the source of Christianity to every age."

And, indeed, although that sublime sense of the incommunicable mediatorial rights of the Redeemer, which throws so majestic an aureole around the Church of Scotland, was chiefly turned towards the grosser forms of civil usurpation, it equally implies all the deductions which our author draws from it. It is easily shown by him to be as hostile to the tyranny of Subscription as to the tyranny of the Stuarts. And we are surprised to see how clearly the struggling fathers of American Presbyterianism held this. But then, as he says, "Subscription to the Westminster Confession did not originate in the Church of Scotland." Jonathan Dickinson, "the great representative American Presbyterian of the Colonial Period, the symbol of all that was noble and generous in the Presbyterian Church," opposed this usurper of Christ's authority with unreserved energy. He touches that high-water mark of true Presbyterianism at whose level it is to be hoped that the "ample and brim fullness of her force" will finally rest. After Dr. Briggs has so distinctly set forth the true constitutive principles of original American Presbyterianism, may it never be known that a minister on trial before a presbytery shall be impudently told, like Messrs. Belden and Hill before the North River presbytery in 1843, on appealing to the Bible, that "they were not there to be tried by the Bible, but by the Confession of Faith." The writer of this notice remembers how the *elder* Skinner blushed when he brought this up to him. This book shows that the Union Seminary of to-day amply inherits his large, free, sound, and thoroughly Presbyterian spirit. And though the parallax of Presbyterianism between New York and Princeton is not inconsiderable, yet we are well persuaded that the resultant line of the impulses given by these "twin stars of learning" will be an ascending path, which shall retain the glowing depth and firm definiteness of Scotland, and shall add to it the plasticity and elastic freedom of America.

We would note the dignified and grateful dedication to the *Senatus*

Academicus of Edinburgh, on completing its Tercentenary, and the two maps which show the feeble *primordia rerum* of the two great sister-growths of cisatlantic Puritanism.

Charles C. Starbuck.

HEGEL'S *ÆSTHETICS*. *A Critical Exposition*. By JOHN STEINFORT KEDNEY, S. T. D., Professor of Divinity in the Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minnesota. [Griggs's Philosophical Classics.] Pp. 302. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1885.

THIS book has interest and value for a somewhat wider class of readers than that to which the other volumes of the series are especially addressed. In addition to those who are pursuing philosophical studies, and who wish to trace the History of Speculative Thought, a work on *Æsthetics* appeals to all who have an interest in Art; — certainly a wide circle at the present time, when objects of art and art collections are so rapidly accumulating, and when the churches are giving renewed attention to the religious value of Art in its varied branches of Architecture, Decoration, Music, and Poetry.

The general importance of the subject gives fitness to the plan of this book, in which Hegel's *Æsthetics* is not only *expounded* but *critically* expounded. It hardly need be said that the general tendency of thought in recent times has been decidedly away from the extreme idealism of Hegel, yet the "*Æsthetics*," as Professor Kedney remarks, contains much that is richly compensating even for those who do not accept the Hegelian philosophy. Hegel was not merely one of the most profound men of his time, but he was also a man of active interest in social life, a frequenter of art galleries, a friend of authors, actors, and artists, and an ardent student of their works. In his "*Æsthetics*," especially the later portions of it, the results of this rich personal experience are drawn from in the elaboration of his system.

Hegel makes, of course, a threefold¹ division of the "*Æsthetics*." He expounds, *first*, the Art Ideal; *second*, the historical development of the Art-impulse (in which three Periods are distinguished); and *third*, the analysis and classification of the several arts in which the Ideal has expressed itself.

In Part First of this book, — the "Philosophic Basis," — Professor Kedney's comments are, as would be expected and desired, most frequent and extensive, occupying nearly one third of the space. The soundness of his animadversions will be generally recognized. To assail Hegel's main standpoint would be, of course, foreign to the purpose of the book, and probably to the author's inclination.

Many, however, would doubtless be glad to see a more thorough protest against Hegel's disparagement of the natural universe and his limitation of pure beauty to the mind's contemplation of its own ideals. Hegel had great scorn for the beauty of nature. The meanest whims and fancies of the mind were to him better revelations of the Divine Idea than all the grandeurs of the external world. There is no reason to doubt Heine's

¹Hegel sets forth all things in threefold groups. He declares that "the triangle is a law of mind." Kant's suggestion of a threefold movement of mind, in Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis, is fully adopted by Hegel, and a system of mental triangulation is rigorously and often rather artificially applied in all his discussions.

statement that, to a rhapsody on the beauty of the stars, Hegel once retorted, "The stars are only glowing pimples on the face of the sky!" His low estimate of nature finds frequent expression in the work before us. He speaks (page 4) of the "illusory forms of the gross and imperfect world;" again (page 45), he says the "soul failing to find in the sphere of reality, and amid its bounding circumstances, the vision and the delight of its freedom is forced to seek satisfaction in a more elevated region," which is Art. Again, attaching his thought to a poem of Schiller's, he says (page 55), "The spirits which belong [in the realm of the Ideal] are dead to the real life, detached from the needs of natural existence, delivered from all the bondage to external things," and much more, here and elsewhere, in a similar strain. What Professor Kedney says (page 25) (pages 34-38 *et al.*) in behalf of a more comprehensive treatment of nature is welcome, but against the arrogant assumption that the artist's loftiest moments are when he soars to the contemplation of his own mental activity one would fain point to Shakespeare's "Hold the mirror up to nature," or to the noble realism seen in the best modern work of the painter's and actor's arts, or to the striving in modern music to express the passion, the yearnings, and the devotion which throb in *living* hearts in the sphere of reality.

In the First and Third Parts of his book Professor Kedney has aimed to reproduce Hegel's words with substantial literalness. In the Second Part he presents an original disquisition, following closely, however, Hegel's thought, especially in his distinction and analysis of the Three Periods. The History of Art is thus divided into the Symbolic, Classical, and Romantic Periods, a division which is parallel to that in Hegel's Philosophy of History, in which he recognizes but three eras in the history of mankind, the Oriental, Classical, and Germanic. This classification has much significance and suggestiveness, but is not free from the Hegelian fault, which Professor Kedney recognizes, of "over-systematization." Among the purely original contributions of the author in the Second Part is a detailed, critical comparison, showing fine discernment and noble appreciation of Raphael's Sistine Madonna and the Madonna St. Sebastian of Correggio.

To say that this exposition is always quite clear would be doubtful praise. For, remembering Hegel's reputed saying, "One man alone has understood me; also he did not!" — one might suspect that if the book were facile reading it could not be a faithful rendering.

There are, however, some things sufficiently obscure, and a few things sufficiently contradictory, to give us assurance of faith that we have the genuine Hegel.

The treatment of the several arts in the Third Part is thoroughly delightful and finely appreciative, although much condensed from the original. The work may be commended as a worthy member of the important series in which it appears.

Edwin H. Higley.

MICROCOSMUS: An Essay concerning Man and his Relation to the World. By HERMANN LOTZE. Translated from the German by ELIZABETH HAMILTON and E. E. CONSTANCE JONES. 2 vols., pp. xxvi, 714; x, 740. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1885.

THE translation of Lotze's "Microcosmus" is the most important of recent events in our philosophical literature. Except for the professional reader this is the most interesting of Lotze's works. In his "Logie" and "Metaphysics" his philosophy is more formally and systematically expounded; but in the "Microcosmus" we have his principles in application. Formally the work claims to be an anthropology, but in effect it covers the whole field of speculation. Philosophical skepticism or the foundations of knowledge, materialism or the nature of life and mind, the mechanical philosophy of science and the opposing views of idealistic speculation, history and the law of its progress, the essential principles of ethics, the nature of fundamental being, the personality of God and his relation to the world and to truth, — such are the questions dealt with. The discussion is carried on on the basis of an almost encyclopædic knowledge and with the profoundest and subtlest critical insight. We know of no other work containing so much of speculative suggestion, of keen criticism, and of sober judgment on these topics. It is well calculated to abate the claims of a one-sided physical philosophy and to remove all panic and even apprehension of the triumph of atheism and materialism. It is equally adapted to abate the claims of a one-sided and pretentious intellectualism by showing how vast is the problem of the world and life and how little we are in a position to solve it. For Lotze the deepest thing in man is not the understanding with its laws of formal logic, but life itself with its perennial interests and aspirations. These give both the driving and the guiding force to the cognitive faculties, and furnish the foundation on which our scientific and speculative structures rest.

In his formal conception of philosophy Lotze agrees with Herbart; both define philosophy as a critical procedure for the working over of our conceptions so as to make them at once harmonious and adequate. In this rectification of our conceptions experience is taken for granted, and the aim is to bring consistency into it. But in the working out of this aim Lotze differs so widely from Herbart that he always refused to be called a Herbartian. In his ontology, indeed, he approached more nearly to Leibnitz than any other; and, in one of his "Streitschriften," in which he forbids his critics to call him a Herbartian, he says that if any one philosopher is to be named as his master it is Leibnitz much more than Herbart. Probably his ontology would have been clearer if with Leibnitz he had found the mark of being in force, that is, in causality, rather than in "a standing in relations." The latter phrase is finally made to mean a maintenance of causal relations, and has the disadvantage of being clumsy and obscure.

According to Lotze himself he was first led to philosophy by his strong poetic and artistic tendencies. This was probably the reason why he gave life, feeling, æsthetics, so important a position in speculation. His aim was less at a rounded logical system than at a general view of things which should make room for ideals and for aspiration toward them. And this he did in two ways: first, by criticising the attempts to exorcise ideals and showing their own untenability; and, second, by showing that the mind cannot take a step even in the cognitive realm without making

ideal assumptions which rest upon nothing but their fitness to be. This is the meaning of his claim that metaphysics is founded on ethics and aesthetics.

Probably no thinker of recent times has done as much as Lotze in helping his readers to mental peace while at the same time keeping them loyal to fact and experience. Still he who reads the "Microcosmus" for the first time should be prepared in advance to find much rejected which he has received, and much affirmed which he has rejected, and much besides which at first seems palpably absurd. He will also find many a discussion ending in no positive decision, because such a decision is impossible. On this account many a reader will find the work unsatisfactory; but the wise will read it with comfort and edification. Even Wisdom herself is justified only of her children.

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Scribner & Welford, New York. Microcosmus: An Essay concerning man and his relation to the world. By Hermann Lotze. Translated from the German by Elizabeth Hamilton and E. E. Constance Jones. In two volumes, 8vo. vol. i., pp. xxvi., 714; vol. ii., pp. x., 740. 1885;—The Unknown God and other sermons preached in St. Peter's Vere Street. By the Rev. Alexander H. Craufurd, M. A., formerly Exhibitioner of Oriel College, Oxford, author of "Seeking for Light." Pp. viii., 298;—Pastoral Theology of the New Testament. By the late J. T. Beck, D. D., Professor of Theology, Tübingen. Translated from the German by Rev. James A. McClymont, B. D., Aberdeen; and Rev. Thomas Nicol, B. D., Edinburgh. Pp. xii., 348;—The Religious History of Israel. A discussion of the chief problems in Old Testament History as opposed to the Development Theorists. By Friedrich Eduard König. The University, Leipzig. Translated by Rev. Alex. J. Campbell, M. A., Barry. Pp. viii., 192.

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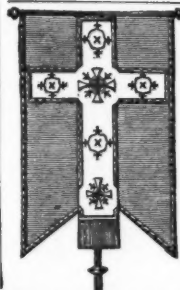
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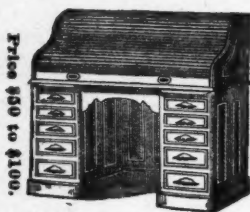
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